Next Month

THAT NEXT WAR
H. M. Tomlinson
A brilliant article by the distinguished author of "All Our Yesterdays" on the causes of war and the factors that will enter into the next one. Mr. Tomlinson was a press correspondent in the last war. He knows what he is writing about.

AL SMITH'S CHANCES
Alva Johnston
Until Smith formally withdraws from the running he will continue to be a formidable candidate for the next Democratic nomination. Alva Johnston shrewdly analyzes his chances of getting the nomination, and after that the presidency.

NEW HOUSES
Walter B. Pitkin
What is the American home coming to, with all these modernistic structures springing up like mushrooms? Mr. Pitkin thinks they have not gone far enough, so he plans a new house which ignores all structural and architectural traditions. You may be living in one in another ten years.

RADIO AND THE CENSORS
Vita Lauter and Charles H. Friend
The spotlessness of Will Hays' Hollywood is as nothing compared to the pasteurized, Grade A sentiments that filter into your home through the loud speaker. This article exposes the ludicrous lengths to which the radio censors go in keeping the air free of naughtiness and propaganda.

FLUCTUATING MONEY STANDARDS
William C. Ewing
England's suspension of the gold standard called attention to the problems of gold currency, particularly the injustices caused by its fluctuations in value. Professor Ewing explains the reasons for this.

NINE PRISONERS
William March
A stirring war story by one of America's finest living short story writers.

COMMON COLDS AND COMMON SENSE
James Hitchcock, M.D.
The world's most costly and mysterious illness — how to avoid it.

FORUM and Century

HENRY GODDARD LEACH, *Editor*

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THE FORUM, combined with THE CENTURY MAGAZINE (Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.), is published monthly by the Forum Publishing Company, Inc. 25 cents a copy (35 cents in Canada); $2.50 a year; foreign and Canadian subscription, $3.50. Publication office, 10 Ferry Street, Concord, N. H. Editorial and general offices, 441 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. Back copies not over three months old, 25 cents; all other back copies, $1.00. Four weeks' advance notice required for change of address, and such notices must supply the old address as well as the new. *Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.*

All manuscripts should be typewritten, accompanied by return postage, and addressed to the Editor at the New York office. No responsibility is assumed for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

Printed in the United States of America. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Concord, N. H., under Act of March 3, 1879.

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ANDRÉ MAUROIS, as everyone knows, is the brilliant biographer of Shelley, Byron, and Disraeli. His studies of the latter two figures appeared serially in THE FORUM. M. Maurois' most recent book, published this fall, is *Lyautey*, a biographical study of the great French marshal who has played such a large part in colonial affairs, and who established firmly the French protectorate in Morocco. Marshal Lyautey is a personal friend of M. Maurois, and the latter therefore had important first-hand sources from which to work.

EDWARD ANGLY is a member of the staff of the *New York Herald Tribune*. He started his journalistic career on the *Galveston News*, down in Texas, where he worked until 1920. Later he became a foreign correspondent for the Associated Press, and spent seven years abroad. Mr. Angly is a frequent contributor to THE FORUM.

ANGELICA GIBBS, a recent graduate of Vassar, has contributed verse to *The New Yorker* and was formerly on the staff of *Vogue*. She is now doing advertising in New York.

LOUIS I. DUBLIN is the statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the author of many books, monographs, and addresses on the subject of vital statistics and public health. Recently he was elected to the presidency of the American Public Health Association, which is the technical organization of American and Canadian health authorities.

HOWARD WOLF gives his age as twenty-nine, and his occupation as editorial page columnist for the *Akron Beacon Journal*. He started his working career, at sixteen, as an abstracter of real estate titles, but fell into newspaper work in 1924. "Was ultimately sentenced to serve as city editor but won parole after two years by showing boss various contributions to F. P. A.'s column. Last preceding rubber article was attributed by the wise ones to assorted rubber barons and editors. Present one will probably be credited to Calvin Coolidge or Ezra Pound."

ERNEST MANDEVILLE has been for eight years Rector of Christ Episcopal Church, Middletown, N. J., and during the week functions as editor of *The Churchman*. He makes his living, however, outside of the church, as president of the Mandeville Press Bureau — a news agency for handling magazine publicity. During the war Mr. Mandeville was a member of the secret service, and later did private detective work. After passing through a transitional stage in journalism, he gave up business and decided to become a minister — graduating from General Theological Seminary in 1924.

WALTER CHAMBERS is a member of the staff of the New York *World-Telegram*. He has been covering the Seabury investigation since it first started, and has therefore been in close contact with Judge Seabury. In fact, he is now at work on an official biography of the Judge which will be published shortly by the Century Company. Mr. Chambers is by birth a Southerner.

SARA HENDERSON HAY was born in Pittsburgh, and now lives in Anniston, Alabama. She is twenty-three years old, has been writing since she was seven, and has contributed verse to a number of leading magazines. Her work appears with particular frequency in *The New Yorker*.

WILLIAM MARCH was born in Mobile, Alabama, and now lives in New York City, where he combines a business career with writing. Since his first short story, "The Holly Wreath," was published in THE FORUM a few years ago, his work has attracted considerable attention, and last year a story of his, "The Little Wife," was reprinted both in the *O. Henry Memorial Volume* and Edward J. O'Brien's *Best Short Stories of 1930*.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL has been research director of the Foreign Policy Association since 1927. Prior to that time he was a member of the faculty of Harvard University. He has written a number of books on international affairs and is a frequent contributor of articles to American and foreign periodicals.

L. M. GRAVES has been for a number of years vice-president of the Brookmire Economic Service in New York City. Most of his earlier life, however, was spent in the West, where he was engaged in teaching and economic research. He was born in Indiana and educated at the University of Oklahoma. Mr. Graves has published numerous articles in newspapers, magazines, and economic reviews.

LAWRENCE H. CONRAD, once a manual laborer in a Detroit automobile factory, is now a professor at the State Teachers College in Montclair, New Jersey. Formerly he taught at the University of Michigan. He writes frequently for English magazines.

EDWARD M. SAIT has taught politics during the past twenty-five years in such different universities as Toronto, Columbia, California, and Pomona. He is also the author of several books on politics. He adds, however, that he is more at home in a canoe than in a party caucus and more interested in a promising litter of airedales than in a salvo of manifestoes from Mr. Shouse or Mr. Lucas. He adds further that in middle age he has begun to entertain some skeptical notions about democracy.

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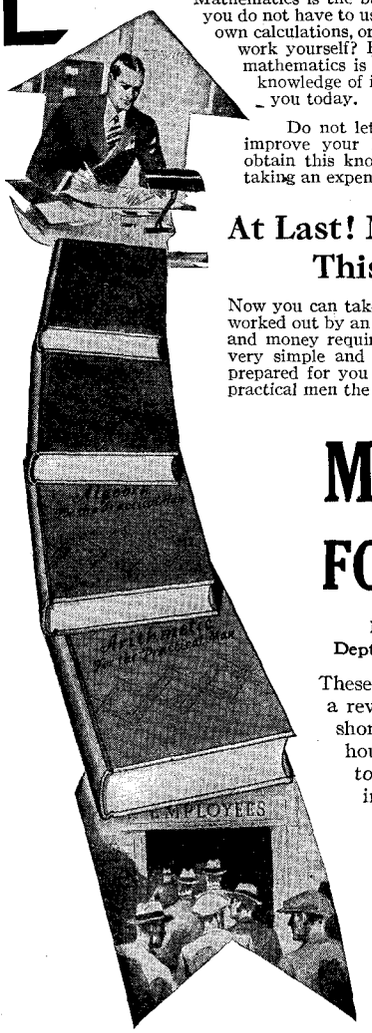

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AS HE points out in his introduction, Mr. Adams had, in writing this book, no desire to compete with the various one-volume histories of the United States already in existence. Although all the main events in our story are included, no school room could afford to depend upon *The Epic of America.* Detailed accounts of battles and treaties are conspicuously absent, and only a half chapter each is devoted to the actual happenings of the American Revolution and the Civil War. Mr. Adams's aim was to view the present day American in the light of his historical background, and to attempt to determine what elements in his character are attributable to that background — how, in short, he came to be what he is. He lays great emphasis on the fact that the American dream of a fuller and richer life for the ordinary citizen is at the bottom of much of our history, and he traces the changes and vicissitudes through which that dream has passed. Like so many modern historians he is inclined to attribute many of our traits — more faults, perhaps, than virtues — to the pioneer psychology, and to the reappearance, until 1890, of frontier after frontier. Although he obviously owes a great debt to his forerunners — Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, Lewis Mumford, Charles Beard — and although he illuminates few American characteristics which they have not already illuminated, his book is nevertheless a sound and rather impressive piece of work. It will doubtless make a considerable impact upon those to whom his conclusions come as news, and it will, in addition, clarify certain periods in our history — such as the decades following the Civil War — which have hitherto been given rather specialized treatment. This book does what it sets out to do — give one a good working knowledge of America and particularly of Americans.

PERHAPS WOMEN, by Sherwood Anderson; Liveright, $2.00.

MR. SHERWOOD ANDERSON seems to have made a unique and personal discovery of the fact that we live to-day in what might be daringly called a machine age, and his latest book is meant to convey this discovery to the less astute reader. It may have been that while Mr. Anderson was escaping further and further into the country some news of this sort seeped in to us; for his observations do not sound altogether novel. The book itself is a series of loosely-connected impressions of mill life in the South, and of comments upon what the author has seen and felt in watching the relentless progress of big industry. Anderson's

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Books in Brief

contention is that men are losing their positive virility in this mechanical civilization, and that their only hope lies in a better arranged schedule of work, and in the fact that women are comparatively untouched by the wheels, and may thus prove the inspiration to pull men up again. Men, says Anderson, being infinitely more imaginative and sensitive to outside impressions than women, allow a mechanical system of living to grind them down, to destroy their manhood; while women, being far less delicate and responsive instruments, can keep their inner life separate and apart from the hum of industry around them. Thus our present-day world becomes a women's world, where men can never regain their rightful place as masters until they have some peace and leisure to separate their inner life and collect themselves. In his preface, Anderson explains that the book lacks form, but that he intended it to be merely a sketch. A sketch it certainly is, both as to form and as to content, and the gaps in reasoning and in the writing of the English language need more than a preface to explain them.

HURRICANE, by Nahum Sabsay; Scribner, $2.50.

MOST OF THE contemporary Russian novels which have appeared in this country have either been militantly Communistic in their viewpoint or else have tacitly assented to the Soviet régime. *Hurricane,* however, was written by a man who was obliged to flee from the Bolsheviks during the revolutionary years, who has since lived in this country, and who has learned to write in English. His viewpoint, therefore, is entirely at variance with that of his fellow-writers still in Russia. *Hurricane* is the story — and about the best story we have had — of the Russian Revolution. It opens on that Easter Day in 1917, when the yoke of the Tsar had only recently been broken, when prospects seemed unimaginably hopeful, and when the whole country experienced a feeling of joyous regeneration. Ludmilla Panina, a daughter of the upper bourgeoisie, participated in that communal experience. She had just fallen in love with Dubenko, a fellow officer of her brother's. She looked forward to a freer and finer future. Then the clouds began to gather. It became evident to her and her family that revolution was not so happy an event as they had thought, that the rule of the Provisional Government was not going to satisfy the peasants and workers, that lands were to be confiscated and security lost. Ludmilla has her first taste of the realities of revolution during the July uprising in Petrograd. She crouches in a hotel room while bullets whistle through the windows, and sees

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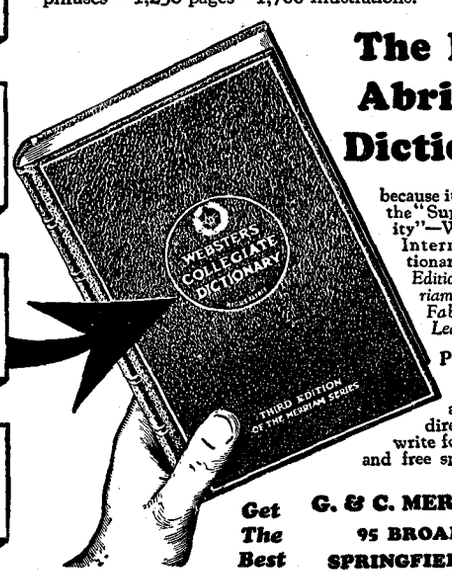

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men mowed down in the street. Thereafter wave after wave breaks over her head, until at last the Red Army invades the southern town where she lives, and her friends and her lover are killed before her eyes. *Hurricane* is an extremely powerful book. It presents the whole sweep of the revolution — at home and on the front — but it so individualizes the various characters that one enters into their experience, and is sharply and subjectively conscious of what that experience meant. Furthermore, though Mr. Sabsay's sympathies are never in doubt, he states the case for the other side adequately enough to maintain true dramatic tension. *Hurricane* is, primarily, a poignant and exciting novel conceived on a large scale. It is only secondarily propaganda — if indeed it is that at all.

FIRST PERSON SINGULAR, by W. Somerset Maugham; Doubleday, Doran, $2.50.

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THE COMING FORTH BY DAY OF OSIRIS JONES, by Conrad Aiken; Scribner, $2.00.

IN HIS FOREWORD to this eccentric and hybrid poem, Conrad Aiken explains that in the Egyptian "Book of the Dead" the deceased is always referred to as Osiris. Thus, presumably, he is writing of the pilgrimage of Everyman from chaos into light, and thence into darkness and chaos again. His intention, one gathers, is to play new variations on an ancient theme — the brevity, futility, and confu-

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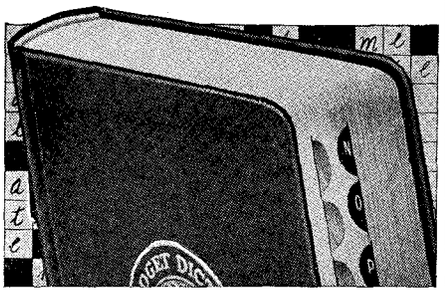

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sion of human life. His poem is divided into sections, some of which belong with the best of Aiken's work, and some of which merely represent a straining after radical novelties. For example, the "Things" that surrounded Osiris Jones, the places where he trysted and the rooms where he slept, become vocal and make their characteristic reports upon his life. Unfortunately, their comments, phrased in nursery language, are so little illuminating as to be ineffective, and to produce only a dim sense of the pattern arduously strived for. Experimentation is a healthy thing, but *Osiris Jones* is an experiment that failed. For the sake of certain sections — "Stage Direction," "The Things" — the poem has value, but on the whole one feels that it is pretentious and arid, and that Mr. Aiken has made a lot of pother with negligible results.

LA SALLE, by L. V. Jacks; Scribner, $3.00.

WRITING in a vigorous, almost epic style Mr. Jacks, in this excellent biography, makes you acutely conscious of La Salle's tremendous vigor, his force of personality, and his physical courage. You follow the thrilling rise of his fortunes in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. You glory in the achievement of his ambition to find the mouth of the Mississippi. The sense of tragedy is keen when his fortunes begin to collapse, chiefly through the pettiness and incompetence of his lieutenants — and the tragedy is heightened because the crumbling of La Salle's dreams and his ultimate assassination marked the doom of French domination in America. Mr. Jacks' style lends itself to description. He revels in accounts of storms on land and sea, and his touch is reminiscent of Conrad, so capably does he deal with panoramic effects that would appall a less robust writer. Nevertheless he weaves his material so skillfully that all this natural magnificence only serves to outline LaSalle's qualities the more sharply.

PRECIOUS PORCELAIN, by Neil Bell; Putnam, $2.50.

THIS FIRST novel is in the latter-day tradition of mystery stories with more to them than just a mystery. The plot itself is an interesting and imaginative treatment of multiple personality, and its dire and far-reaching effects upon a hitherto normal and placid little cathedral town in England. Although the dénouement gives some reason for the exact nature of the incidents, a dozen fully described seductions and almost as many murders do grow a little monotonous. The necessity for large numbers of characters to act as victims in these in-

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teresting excursions gave Mr. Bell the opportunity for doing the thing at which he really excels — namely, the quick and sure character sketch. His villagers and their little interests are described with real skill, and one is almost sorry that their reason for being had to be in furtherance of a mystery instead of on their own behalf, particularly since the author himself seems far more interested in them than in the ins and outs of a horror story.

THE OLD CROWD, by William F. Fitzgerald, Jr.; Longmans, Green, $2.00.

A SKILLFUL and poignantly nostalgic novel is this collection of flash-backs in which the old crowd, now grown mature in years if not in emotion, view themselves as they were over thirty years ago. They lived in a New Hampshire town then, as they do now, and their lives were closely intertangled; while over them all hovered and still hovers the malicious, evil figure of Colonel Harlan. On this August afternoon of 1931 each of the seven lives once more the most bitter period of his own life. Mr. Fitzgerald has been remarkably successful in recreating the atmosphere and spirit of the nineties, and it is to this that his book owes much of its appeal. The characters themselves, however, are no less sincerely felt: each is differentiated from the others and each stands out as an individual rather than a type. Although it is not so delicate a piece of work, *The Old Crowd* has more than one resemblance to Willa Cather's *A Lost Lady.*

SIR WALTER RALEIGH: That Damned Upstart, by Donald Barr Chidsey; Day, $3.75.

IN CHOOSING to portray one of the most romantic and picturesque figures of the Elizabethan age, Mr. Chidsey has appointed for himself a complicated task. Raleigh was a man of tremendous energy, wide talent, and a propensity for involving himself simultaneously in a variety of enterprises. This, of course, puts Mr. Chidsey into the position of having to explain the ramifications of a dozen or more concurrent undertakings, and at the same time do justice to Raleigh's personality. Further, in order to give a well-rounded picture, he has had to devote much time to the many forceful personalities who surrounded Elizabeth, such as Essex, Drake, Hawkins, Cecil and — most important — Elizabeth herself. Under the circumstances the author should not be criticized too severely if he seems a trifle incoherent and hurried, especially in treating of Sir Walter at the height of his career, and if occasionally it is difficult to distinguish just who is the subject of the book. When, however, the

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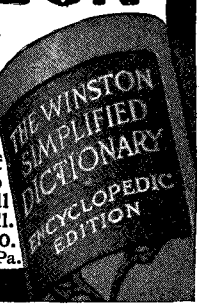

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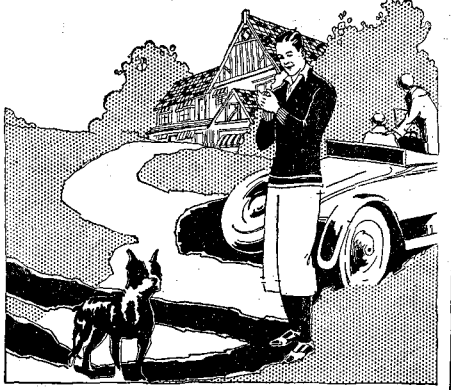

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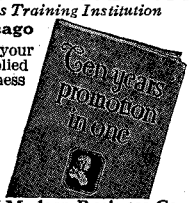

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narrative reaches the wane of Raleigh's activities, when his powers were concentrated on one problem — that of saving his own life — Mr. Chidsey really becomes effective. He loses his former indecisive touch, which included a too frequently admitted doubt of his material's authenticity, and his story becomes vivid and dramatic. Particularly striking is his technique of ending the book. He stops abruptly with the execution of Raleigh, leaving one with a poignant illustration of the fine courage and the flair for the spectacular that was most characteristic of the man.

NEW ENGLAND HOLIDAY, by Charles Allen Smart; Norton, $2.50.

WE ALWAYS like house parties in novels. Some we like less than others — for example, the house party which, according to Charles Allen Smart in *New England Holiday*, the Morgans of Bideford, Massachusetts, gave last Washington's Birthday. It was a perfectly proper party. In fact we preferred it to any one of Mr. Scott Fitzgerald's bacchic revels, typifying the spirit of the post-war generation. But we found the Morgans and their guests — each one of them contributed a chapter in the first person to Mr. Smart's book — just a bit too quaint. Mr. Smart would have us believe that when the youth of to-day congregate, they spend their time moping intellectually like W. S. Gilbert's twenty love-sick maidens. According to the fourteen characterizations in *New England Holiday*, they languidly discuss life, Proust, psychology, Anglo-Catholicism, and other topics sanctioned by polite learning — that is, when they are not squirming with a desire to overcome their inhibitions long enough to be real devilish and have some fun for a change. It would be distinctly unpleasant in real life to attend a house party like the Morgans', where everybody tried to determine just how to behave without making an ass of himself in the eyes of the other guests and regretted having behaved like an ass after deciding. Surely the youth of to-day must take time off once in a while to act naturally and to think of other things than living up to the stuffy erudition expected, by only a few gray old fuddy-duddies, of youngsters who have been exposed to a college education.

WHITE CHRISTMAS, by Margaret Emerson Bailey; Putnam, $2.00.

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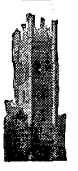

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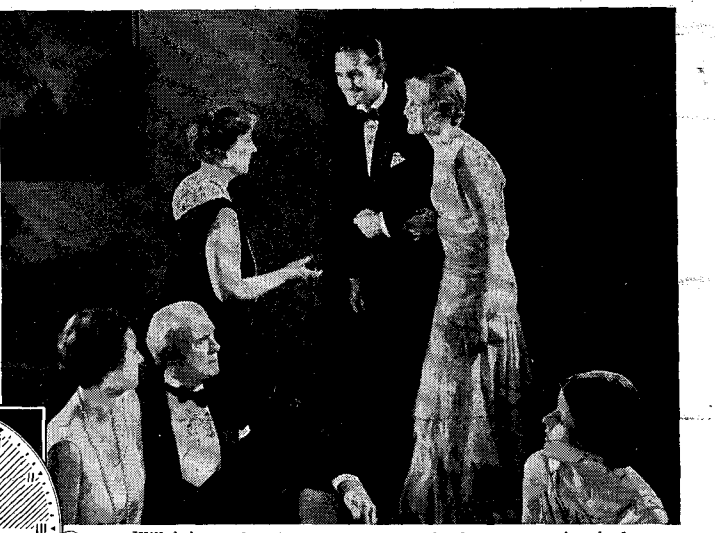

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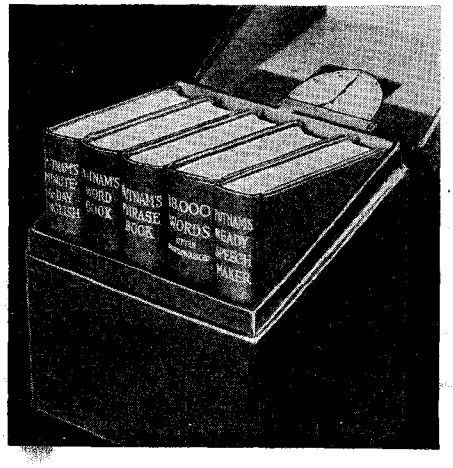

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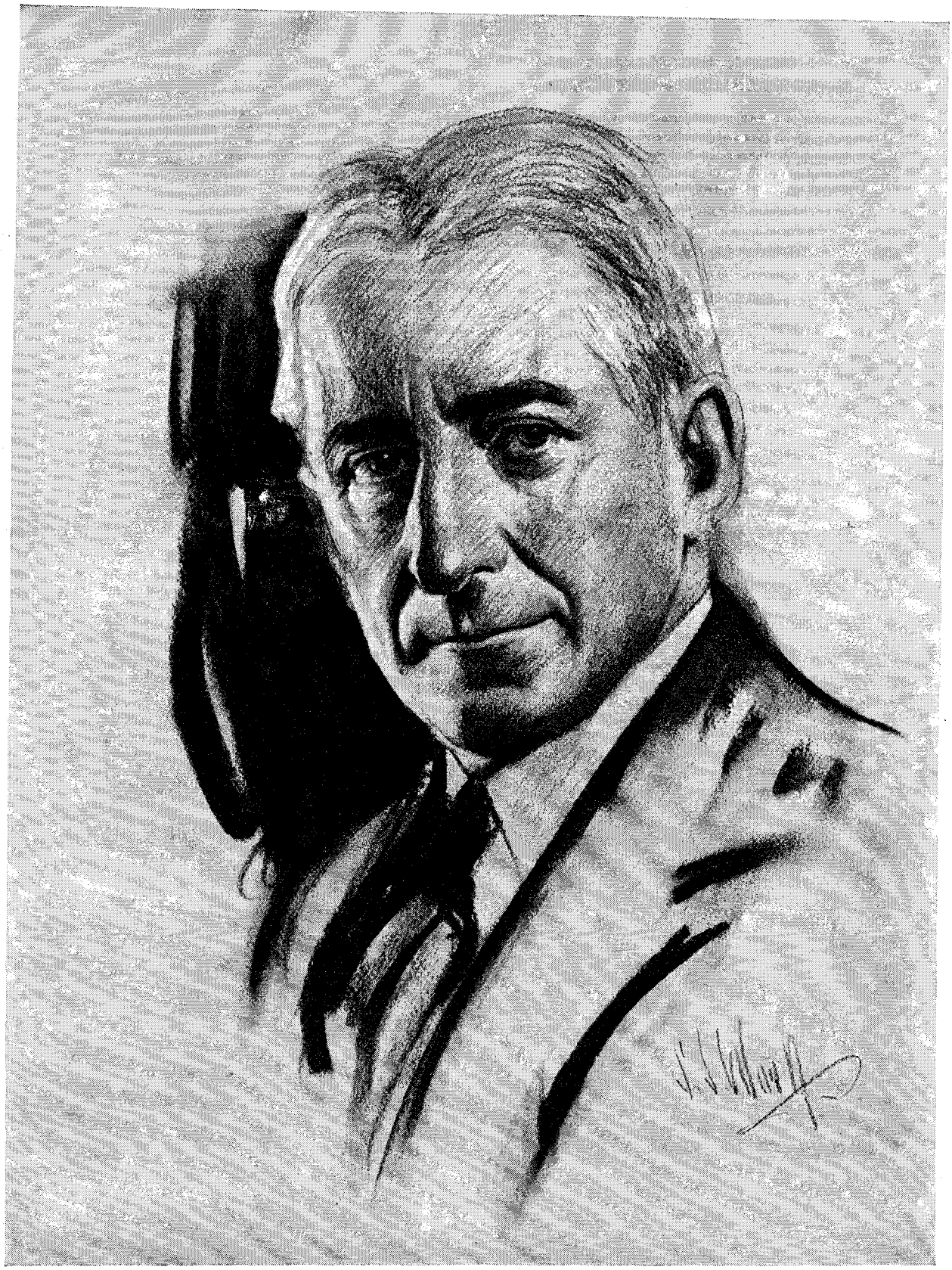

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F O R U M

NOVEMBER, 1931 VOL. 86, NO. 5

THE EDITOR'S FOREWORD

"WHERE there is no vision, the people perish." Solomon might have written that proverb for the victims of the present depression, instead of his own people. On a hunch that Solomon was one of the very few prophets who would not be discredited by the upsets of the present economic unpleasantness, THE FORUM in July cast about for a man of vision to point the way out of our slough of despond. The occasion demanded a man far enough removed from the confusion of business and industry to be able to see beyond it; one with courage to prophesy at a time when prophets were anathema. All signs pointed to Charles A. Beard. In the face of inevitable ridicule from "practical business men" he offered the plan which THE FORUM published in July.

Since the appearance of the FORUM plan other plans have sprung up like mushrooms. The most practical of these plans to date is that of Mr. Gerard Swope, President of the General Electric Company. Mr. Swope's plan is not as comprehensive as Professor Beard's, but it is built upon the same premise of voluntary collective action. Professor Beard proposed that all vital American industries associate themselves in Syndicates, much as many of the electrical industries do to-day, and that these Syndicates elect a National Economic Council. Instead of "Syndicate" Mr. Swope uses the name "Trade Association"; instead of a "National Economic Council" he proposes a "Federal Supervisory Body." Mr. Swope provides for a standardization of financial reports, the coördination of consumption with production; and he elaborates in clear detail occupying the greater part of his thesis a complete scheme (a program advocated so often in THE FORUM) of voluntary social insurance — workman's compensation, life, and disability insurance, pensions, and employment insurance — designed immediately to forestall the clamor for a government "dole" and eventually to allay the worker's stifling fear of losing his job. THE FORUM proposes to test Mr. Swope's insurance plan for its own employees, beginning in January.

INDIVIDUALISM must be preserved in America, but not at the price of anarchy. More collectivism — voluntary as far as possible — is needed to make individualism safe in America. Capitalism and communism are but the two opposite poles, slowly melting toward each other, of modern collectivism.

Russia is humanity uprooted; America has not yet taken root. In each society the element of chronic fear must be reduced. In no modern nation in time of peace has apprehension been so universal a malady as in America. A society that sells a widow a share of its leading bank for five hundred dollars and two years later offers her only fifty dollars for the same certificate is hardly a safe society, however virile its rampant individualism may seem to President Hoover.

In any "plan" there lurk, of course, dangers. Visions may prove visionary. In order to give the anti-planners a fair hearing THE FORUM presents in this issue an able article by Mr. L. M. Graves attacking the economic theorists. Admitting possible dangers, there can be little doubt that American business is headed toward a greater measure of collective action. The pedestrian will still have his freedom, but the planner will be in the saddle.

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Can Capitalism Be Saved?

Drawings by Thomas Benrimo

by ANDRÉ MAUROIS

If, in 1240, one had described to the Norman or Breton peasants those institutions which now seem so natural to us — independent farms, estates without men at arms, justice rendered in the name of the people by official judges — they would have been amazed to the point of incredulity by such a picture. Likewise if, outside of socialist or communist groups, a writer had discussed before the war the chances for the survival of capitalism, he would not have been taken seriously. The system of private ownership seemed then to be one of the necessary consequences of human nature. A leader of industry did not question his rights to his factory any more than a feudal lord questioned his rights to his fief.

Will capitalism and private ownership be relegated to an obscure museum existence along with the archaic institutions of feudalism and manorial rights? A whole party believes so, and already one nation, Russia, is seeking a new economic system. Has she succeeded? Has not capitalism still got before it years or centuries of vigorous life before it finally yields place, like all human creation, to other forms engendered by itself? Is it a young institution which has reached a period of crisis in its growth, or is it a system crumbling and already doomed? What action should the capitalist nations take to remedy infirmities which may become mortal? Such are some of the questions which, in 1931, inquiring minds must ask.

Certainly none of these questions would be so urgent were it not for the Russian experiment. Not that it is easy, to-day, to give an honest judgment concerning this experiment. It is one of the most curious phenomena of the day that impartial men (or those who believe themselves to be so) find it impossible to get dependable information about conditions in the new Russia. The existence of a censorship renders suspect the testimony of the Russians themselves, and even of the foreign correspondents living in Russia. The brevity of their stay, their ignorance of the language, the watchful supervision of their guides, destroy much of the value of the accounts given by travelers. They are committed almost completely to preconceived ideas, favorable or unfavorable, which, consequently, they wish to verify.

Despite this ignorance, or perhaps because of it, Communist Russia excites the imagination. We do not know if she is succeeding, but we cannot ignore the fact that she is continuing in her ways. Her leaders, who are adroit, are ingeniously maintaining an impression of success. Their Five Year Plan was a windfall, a

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lucky hit. There is in this formula a mixture of precision and mystery which troubles and satisfies the mind.

Furthermore, it is not merely a formula. Engineers and capitalist manufacturers who have been in Russia for as much as a year come back, not converted, but surprised. Themselves builders of factories, they cannot help admiring those giant plants which Russia is constructing. It is true that it is not difficult to build, that the problem is not to create equipment but to make use of it under conditions of output and salary scale superior to that of the capitalist régime, and that finally it has not been proved that this last problem will be solved. No matter. At a distance, the effect produced is impressive.

II

For two years the capitalist countries have been undergoing a formidable crisis. The machine seems to be out of order. The number of the unemployed is mounting. The necessity of caring for them is forcing the nations to live on their reserves. It is natural that communism appears as a refuge to two groups of human beings. First there are the unfortunates who, having lost their money or their jobs, blame their personal mishaps on "the system." Next there are the intellectuals who, shocked by the impotence of capitalism to organize production and distribution on a rationalized basis, are seduced by the apparantly rigorous logic of the Russian scheme. For these two types of malcontents the U. S. S. R. is a nucleus of crystallization. The existence of a communist Russia gives a new, dangerous, and profound character to the crises of overproduction and unemployment. On the other hand it is certain that since the war these crises have themselves seemed to assume a more serious and far-reaching character than before. One is obliged to seek out the reason.

The right of a proprietor, on condition that he respect the law, to do what he wants with his possessions and to accumulate them without check is a very old system which, on the whole, has produced admirable results. Human civilization has been founded on this right in almost all places and throughout the course of history. The hope of gain, the will to increase one's power, the less selfish desire to bequeath it to one's children, have produced a zest for labor and a philosophy of thrift to which are due the prodigious accumulation of capital that, in the form of houses, cultivated fields, livestock, furniture, works of art, and all other property, constitutes the framework of our spiritual civilization. At the present time one may be either an enemy or a defender of capitalism. It seems to me impossible for an historian not to recognize the magnitude of its results in the past.

In the nineteenth, and later in the twentieth century, the system of private ownership was radically transformed by the development of the machine, and by the concentration of large industries. This story has often been told. I wish to stress here only two points.

First, the great profits realized during this period have created a new form of feudalism. Industrial or commercial dynasties hand down their family businesses like fiefs. Millions of workers have accepted as overlords the employers who give them their jobs. Until 1880 (and even, in some countries, until 1900) the working classes abandoned, in effect, all political power to these leaders. The heroes of the banking world, of business and of industry, devoted themselves to Homeric combats in which defeat entailed failure and frequently suicide. Like all quarrels between great estates, these combats cost the hovel-dwellers dear. The public, however, delighted in these jousts, and there were great employers as there were formerly great overlords. In the United States, where business feudalism is still primitive and strong, the masses, up to the recent crisis and in spite of the fact that they had often been wounded by the blows, admired the fine thrusts and strategy of the jousters of Wall Street.

Secondly, the development of certain industries has been so rapid that the isolated capitalist no longer finds, in private profits, the new capital which is indispensable to him. Hence the growth of joint stock companies, and a complete transformation of the nature of property. In the days of Balzac, a Père Grandet owned poplars, fields, houses, gold, and, as a part of his fortune, government stock. To-day a Parisian clerk will have shares in an Amsterdam oil company, in a copper mine which he believes to be in Spain and which is actually in the Argentine, in a rubber plantation whose trees ooze forth in Java or Sumatra. This participation of the small fry in big business

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has led superficial observers to talk of the democratic régime of ownership. Actually, the system resembles political democracy in this respect — that both are plutocracies. Big business is administered by a small group of men who remain all-powerful, who sign contracts and fix dividends, and who, by the very multiplicity of the stockholders, are free from any serious control.

The consequences of this transformation in private ownership have not been happy. They are: the discontent of the small capitalist, who has lost all feeling of confidence and security; the anarchy of a feudal society in which, with each individual seeking only to increase his own business and profits without regard for the general needs of the market, overproduction is inevitable; the accumulation of immense revenues in the hands of a few men who, unable to spend them on their personal needs, divert these forces from the normal economic cycle and use them to multiply still further the already too numerous means of production; periodic crises of depression, which are perhaps inevitable but the severity of which could have been diminished by more intelligent control of speculation and production; finally unemployment, a grave symptom which automatically follows overproduction.

The evils created by abandoning to its own devices so complicated a mechanism could have been predicted in the nineteenth century. Then, however, the symptoms seemed harmless and capable of being overlooked. The expansion of markets had given the illusion of a possible continuous growth of production. The war, by closing down a large number of these markets, by transforming into industrial nations countries which formerly had been purchasers, by multiplying customs barriers in Europe, so increased fluctuations that it has become difficult for a bourgeois civilization to sustain them. Two attitudes remain possible. The first is to believe that these ills are not a necessary consequence of the system of private ownership, and that the introduction of certain corrections in the formulas of our economic structure would suffice to reëstablish the efficacy of the system. The second attitude, that of the Russians, is to affirm that every capitalist society necessarily produces these evil consequences, and that the sole remedy is communism.

III

WHAT ARE the elements of strength in communism? The first is that it is an economic dictatorship. We have, in the capitalist world, had experience of such methods. People often forget that the first great economic experiment in international socialism was made by the Allies from 1915 to 1918. During this period the Inter-Allied Shipping Board controlled the world's shipping and, in America, the War Industries Board under Bernard Baruch established an economic dictatorship. The results were prodigious. Why? Because individual interests, which are always at odds, were subordinated to general interests. A coördinated system replaced anarchy.

How was such self-denial, such abnegation, wrested from rebellious human nature? A strong emotion, patriotism, had subdued envy, vanity, and greed. A certain mysticism had been created, and the individual, worshiping a force beyond himself, had accepted the sacrifice. The second positive factor in communism is that it too has a mystic faith to offer. It is blended with patriotism. Russia is playing a lone hand against the world, and many Russians who do not believe in communism wish nevertheless to see their country triumph. But, for the members of the Party, the active force is a mysticism characteristically communistic: a complete abandonment of the individual to a task and to expectations which are greater than he. It is this mysticism which enables a cruel and exacting dictatorship to endure. The strength of the governmental system seems to lie in police and military power — as in fact it does — but no régime of force can long survive if it is not sustained by faith. In the Russian Communist Party, and particularly among its younger members, this faith exists.

Will it suffice? I do not believe so. The number of individuals capable of true sacrifice and of disinterestedness is certainly not negligible. It cannot be large enough to keep a whole nation at work. When one reads contemporary Russian fiction (as, for example, Pilnyak's fine novel, *The Volga Falls to the Caspian Sea*) one sees that more human passions supplement disinterestedness. I have always asked myself what incentives, in the communist system, could take the place for vulgar, unregenerate people (and one must admit that such people

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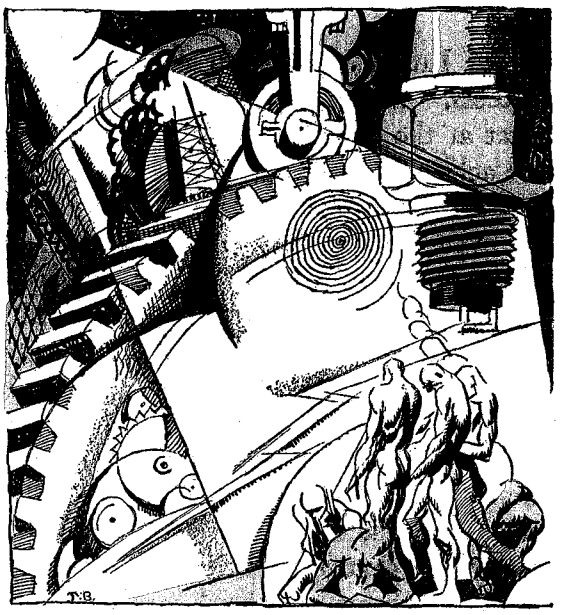
exist in Russia as elsewhere) of that desire for personal profit which is the motive force of the capitalist system. Pilnyak's book, like Calvin B. Hoover's *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia*, and, more recently, Stalin's speech on necessary inequalities, have shown me clearly what those incentives are.

In the first place, the idea of profit has not been entirely discarded. "One cannot," says Stalin, "allow a locomotive engineer to be paid like a stenographer." Even when the question of profits does not come up, ambition takes its place and produces almost identical results. In Soviet Russia a man can, if he is a good technician, become a foreman, a superintendent of a factory, an engineer — and consequent upon these duties he enjoys a way of life, a type of dwelling, and a prestige in the eyes of his wife superior to those of the ordinary workman. Hoover, like Pilnyak, shows that economic-political intrigues, manoeuvers for advancement, and denouncements calculated to overthrow the superior who blocks one's path, play as large a rôle in Russia as the lust for profits in the capitalist world. One reëncounters the instincts which underlie all fanaticism, hidden under the mask of virtue. Stalin's Communists are like Cromwell's Puritans — though puritanism and ambition are perhaps more subversive of social harmony than the love of money, a form of power which is anonymous and exchangeable. I do not know whether humanity would gain much by substituting the god, Power, for the god, Money, and calumny for competition. I do not believe so.



But another and more noble emotion crops up in the novels of New Russia. It is the joy of action. In all pioneer periods the man who, by unceasing labor, models a virgin nature in his hands, has been a happy man. For two centuries America knew this optimism of the pioneer. Now Russia is giving free rein to the "Men Who Would Be King." An article by an American engineer employed by the Russians expressed this emotion perfectly. "I am not a communist," he said, "and I have no interest in all the communist doctrines. I only know that here I can build the largest and finest electric plant. What does the rest matter? I am happy." Read the little primer which the Soviets distribute to their school children. You will see that the Five Year Plan is represented to them as a great, an heroic adventure — in a style which is reminiscent both of Rudyard Kipling and Walt Whitman. It is natural that the country has been able, by such methods, to awake the enthusiasm of youth.

Are this enthusiasm and this mysticism likely to last? Here, as always, one must beware of the dangerous rôle of prophet. It is, however, fine intellectual sport to study possibilities. One of these would be the rapid disappearance of communism. The Five Year Plan might fail; the Russian working class, weary of an abnegation shown by its results to be barren, might drive out its masters. This solution seems to me unlikely. The Five Year Plan will not produce ideally happy conditions in Russia and it will leave the Russian workman in a position still inferior to that of his French or American counterpart. But it will better his position, and the change will be radical enough so that it will be easy, with the aid of faith, to persuade the Russian masses again to put their trust in a new Plan — which this time it will be wise to extend over a period of ten or fifteen years.

Possibly, during these fifteen or twenty years of planned economy, the Soviets will gain much ground over the capitalist nations (providing the latter do not alter their methods). The Soviets are working in a new country, whose needs are immense and whose natural resources are very great; German or American engineers have given them the benefit of their technical skill; they exercise absolute power. By imposing privations on

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their people, they are accumulating reserve capital more rapidly than the capitalist world. There seems no reason why they cannot create a great industrial civilization. The Pharaohs built the Pyramids, a much more absurd enterprise, and yet the people did not revolt. Even if, at the start, the output of communist production is mediocre, it is probable that with the aid of foreign coöperation on the one hand, and a system of coercion on the other, the Russians will, after a series of partial failures, learn to correct their mistakes.

IV

THE REAL difficulties of Russia will begin with the advent of success. "Nothing fails like success." Assume that at the end of thirty years the Soviet régime achieves for its people a mode of life equal or superior to that of the capitalist workman, or even the petty bourgeois. It is natural to suppose that one may then look for the following phenomena. First, the mystic urge will weaken — because all human emotions lose their strength when they no longer have the prestige of novelty; because victory will wipe out the thrill of combat; and finally because the desire to build and create will no longer be gratified. The pioneer clears the ground, and his destiny is to destroy the environmental conditions and the obstacles which are the basis for his happiness. On the day when he replaces hostile nature with the human hive, he is at once triumphant and dispossessed. The Russians of 1960 will have a dull time of it, like the Americans of 1927.

Secondly, Russia will undoubtedly try, like America, to prolong the pioneer period. Then, in her turn, she will experience over-production. Exportation will be difficult, for it is unthinkable that other nations will not defend their own workmen. "But how," people will ask, "can there be overproduction under a communist system? Cannot the Soviets increase their wages indefinitely, improve the standards of ordinary living, and cut down working hours?" One must admit frankly that this could, indeed, be the superiority of the communist system over an unreformed capitalist system — that a greater share of production could be put back into circulation. It is not, however, true at the present moment, because Russia needs, and will still need for a long time, to create a working capital.

Finally, a permanent betterment of standards of living will again build up a bourgeoisie. The Soviets will be brought to the point of distributing such diverse commodities that they will be obliged to accord their wage-earners the right to choose between the goods offered and to dispose of their money as they please. From such a right to the rebirth of savings, and then of wealth, the road seems easy and the descent swift. Toward the end of the twentieth century a Russian will discover the theory of private property — which will seem like a great and revolutionary novelty. Prosperity will bring with it the reappearance of a form of capitalism, which will nevertheless be different from the old. The cycle will have been completed. This is, at least, one of the possible directions which world history may take; it may not be the one which will be fulfilled. If, however, it is very naïve to suppose that capitalism is impregnable, it is equally naïve to see in communism the true religion, a perfect and logical form into which human economics will crystallize forever.

It is also a surprising intellectual weakness to pit individualism against socialism, and capitalism against communism, as if one were concerned with clear-cut concepts and sharply marked frontiers. Reality is living and complex, and historical evolution causes human societies to vibrate from one system to another without allowing them a permanent resting place in either. If our epoch can boast any original philosophy, it is one of absolute relativism. It is not immoral to be a capitalist; it is not criminal to be a communist; but it would be intelligent to perceive that every doctrine is harmful if it is too rigid.

There is no absolute economic truth, or rather there is an economic truth for each moment in time. As the scholar revises his hypothesis in accordance with the dictates of experience; as the military leader, if he is wise, accepts the schooling of facts, so economic leaders should have a doctrine only so that it may provisionally coördinate their actions. Capitalism may avoid a revolution, and I hope that it will do so. It can save itself only by transforming itself.

In the December issue — "That Next War," by H. M. Tomlinson

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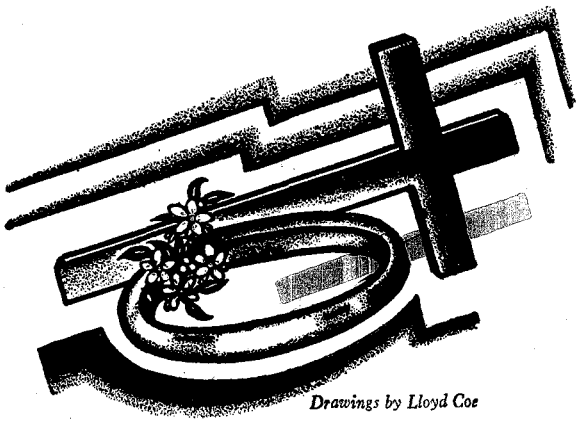
Repenting in Haste



Drawings by Lloyd Coe

by **EDWARD ANGLY**

OUR OBLIGING and optimistic government, ever alert for the slightest indication that things are not as bad as they seem, recently informed us that the divorce business of this Republic was operating at only 4.2 per cent below the record production of 1929. In the marriage market sales have gone off 10 per cent, and little blue-eyed dividends are down to the lowest rate in the country's history.

Actually, divorces are even closer to the peak than the statistics from Washington would indicate. The government's figures end with the year 1930, and since then at least three of the states have overhauled their court machinery, cut down overhead, increased the advertising appropriation, and speeded up production. The tabulations of the Census Bureau are concerned solely with the domestic market. They completely ignore our rapidly swelling importations of divorce decrees from abroad. From France the imports have fallen heavily, because the French declared a partial embargo on what, a few years ago, was among the most recherché of the *articles de Paris*. Since then, other countries have rushed in to gather stacks of greenbacks by catering to the American demand for divorces, which, like the American consumption of other illusory comforts, far exceeds that of any other people.

The supplying of this demand has come to be regarded in certain of the states and in a few foreign lands as a sure and relatively inexpensive way to offset the slump in other lines of business. A few weeks ago the national railroad administration of Mexico decided, as a measure of economy, to close the repair shops in the town of Gomez Palacio, a division point in the state of Durango. The town promptly found itself bereft of its principal industry and largest source of income. While the local merchants and bankers were still casting about for some means of relieving the resultant depression, the judicial mind of Judge Gilberto M. Perez hit upon a capital idea. He would work longer hours on the bench, even do without his siesta, if necessary, in order to provide all comers with a prompt and painless divorce. Word was rushed northward to tell the unhappily married gringos that they could obtain divorces in Gomez Palacio in less than two weeks after making their wishes known.

Shortly thereafter, many American lawyers received communications setting forth that Gomez Palacio was a lovely little town, with hot and cold running water in the hotel. The circulars emphasized Gomez Palacio's closer proximity to the United States than that of either Cuernavaca or Merida, the two best known divorce centers in Mexico. Indeed, one had only to make a short airplane trip across the frontier to Torreon, and from there it would be but half an hour by automobile to reach the presence of Judge Perez. Before the first of September the Judge was pleased to announce that already, from New York City alone, he had received 150 letters from lawyers who told him they would gladly shift their divorce orders to his plant "if conditions warranted."

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Last winter when Cuba found herself with a surplus of sugar and a shortage of tourists, the legislature of that country passed a bill, approved by President Gerardo Machado, to make it possible for a non-resident of the island to sue for divorce on any one of fifteen grounds after filing an affidavit that he or she had not been out of Cuba for thirty days. One of the fifteen grounds offered to the choice of plaintiffs is habitual gambling. Facilities for acquiring this habit are quite handy in Havana. The bill provided that if the defendant did not appear or file notice of contest within thirty days after the tentative decree had been granted by the court, the decree should become permanent.

Some of the more worldly wise of the Cuban legislators recalled that the Mexican state of Morelos, after it had lost its position as the greatest sugar producer in all Mexico, through the destruction of plants by revolutionary raidings, had rescued its treasury from bankruptcy by establishing a mail order divorce business.

At the very moment when Cuba was making its bid for a share of the linen-washing trade, the legislatures of Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, and Arkansas devoted their attentions to various plans and programs for increasing their portion of the business. By spring, the potential purchasers of divorce decrees found themselves in a real buyers' market. To-day the American wife or husband may acquire a decree in the domestic market more cheaply, more quickly, and more comfortably than ever before.

The Road To Reno

In the recent race of the western legislatures to attract the mismated of other states, there was a delightful absence of the hypocrisy which the Anglo-Saxon mind so often displays in tackling an issue wherein both morals and money are woven. Getting up in the Arizona capitol to propose a bill that would have reduced the residence requirement for divorce case plaintiffs from one year to ninety days, State Senator Crenshaw frankly told his colleagues that it was "a business proposition." Seven Senators sided with him. Nine opposed him. So the bill was lost by only one voice — a still, small voice, it may have been. In Wyoming, Representative W. C. Deloney proposed to reduce the residence requirement to sixty days, but Charles Mann, speaker of the house, without cracking a smile sent the bill to the bridges and highways committee.

This left only two states, Idaho and (of all places!) fundamentalist Arkansas still threatening to give Reno some real competition. In Nevada the residence requirement had been a mere matter of ninety days ever since 1927, and a woman could get a divorce by complaining that her husband habitually trumped her aces. In February the Arkansas legislature adopted a bill reducing to sixty days the waiting time for outlanders. The bill further provided that in another thirty days a final decree of divorce would be obtainable. Among the six grounds offered for a client's selection were "indignities, such as nagging, *etc.*" The publicity boys in the Chamber of Commerce at Hot Springs began banging typewriters to remind the country that their city was well supplied with golf courses, dance orchestras, French chefs, bridal paths, good hotels, and other attractions for lolling ladies and loafing gentlemen who might wish to avail themselves of the Arkansas cure for conjugality.

A petition by old-fashioned folk who wanted to stay the operation of the quick divorce law until the question could be submitted to the people failed when Secretary of State Edward McDonald ruled, on June 16, that the 8504 signatures were insufficient. The next morning the law went into effect and a spanking new divorce court was opened in Hot Springs. There was a well-dressed queue at the door, led by a North Carolinian who had arrived in town sixty days previously to bide his time.

While Arkansas was overhauling its divorce shop to assure a quicker turnover, Idaho reduced its residence requirement to ninety days. The governor vetoed the bill, but the legislature promptly passed it over his veto.

Nevada accepted these challenges in a jiffy. Her legislature was quickly assembled to meet the threat against the State's best known industry. By an almost unanimous vote a bill was passed which reduced the waiting time for divorce applicants to six weeks. It became effective on the first of May. As a further attraction, the legislature legalized gambling and encouraged the opening of bigger and better casinos. Immediately, from all parts of the country, a rush to Reno began. By early June the crush was so great that tents had to be

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pitched to care for those who could not be squeezed into the hotels. Reno became a news center of such importance that the Associated Press, which for years had received its Reno items from a string correspondent, opened a bureau in "the biggest little city in the world."

Two judges buckled down to handle the flood of new business. They issued, the first day, eighty-three decrees; the first week, two hundred and seventy-five. On a particularly busy day the divorce mill buzzed at the unprecedented speed of one decree every ten minutes, and the county's cash register rang up twenty-six dollars with each decree.

In the old days the plaintiff at Reno had to explain what he or she meant by the charge of mental cruelty. The new law has eliminated even that easy obligation. It is just as well, for Nevada had given divorces to women who complained that their husbands wouldn't attend their parties, and to husbands who squawked because their wives were not interested in their golf scores. As it is now, Nevada says to the married of the land: "If you will come and stay in one of our counties for six weeks and then tell the judge that you intend to remain here, we will give you a divorce and no questions asked, and you may go home on the next train. If you like, we'll marry you to someone else while you're waiting for the train."

The defendant is expected to "coöperate" by appearing in the Reno court, or by having a local lawyer represent him. But if the defendant doesn't choose to coöperate, then the decree may be issued by default.

Some idea of the increase in divorce production which the new Nevada law has achieved may be got by comparing the figures cited above with the Nevada divorce statistics for past years. In 1929 Reno divorces numbered 2071. In 1930 the total was 2149. Reno's boosters hope divorce will mount to five figures in the first year of the new bill's operation.

Divorces of Convenience

Although Nevada has again outbid all of the other states for the divorce trade, her foreign competitors, particularly Mexico, have not taken a licking lying down.

The governor of the State of Morelos, Señor Vincente Estrada Cajigal, recently issued the following very businesslike statement:

"I have been studying the situation at Reno, and I admit that we need some improvement here in Morelos. We intend to improve our present divorce procedures in many ways, several of which will appeal to our customers. I say customers, for I consider the divorce industry purely in the light of a commercial transaction, as an operation in buying and selling. We have a law to sell and it is our responsibility to render purchase as easy and rapid for customers as possible. In our calculations we are eliminating all consideration of months or even weeks and plan to work out a schedule on a basis of days, and as few of them as may be imaginable. We are aiming at a maxmum of ten days. If Reno meets that, we shall cut the time still lower."

Thus the great work of meeting the American demand for divorces goes on. Just what the saturation point will be, no man can now foresee. In the marriage market, supply and demand have long been relatively stable. Each year for the past two decades, the marriage rate in the United States has registered around 10 marriages per 1000 of population. Meanwhile the divorce rate, both in relation to population and in proportion to the number of marriages, has increased 50 per cent in the past fifteen years. In a generation it has tripled.

The following table tells the tale:

Year	*Number of Marriages*	*Marriages per 1000 Population*	*Number of Divorces*	*Divorces per 1000 Population*	*Divorces per 100 Marriages*
1887	482,680	8.67	27,919	0.47	5.5
1915	1,007,595	10.14	104,298	1.05	10.4
1929	1,232,559	10.10	201,475	1.66	16.3

Breaking up these figures by states, one finds a vast, informative, awe-inspiring, and highly amusing diversity — sufficiently tragic to be downright funny. South Carolina, like the Roman Catholic Church, does not grant divorces, but it will grant annulments on certain grounds. Among these are idiocy, lunacy, consanguinity, and "any cause showing that at the time the contract was made, it was not really a contract." A South Carolinian who is

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itching for a divorce may go to another state, sit down long enough to qualify as a resident, get a decree, and return home without the slightest fear of being excommunicated from South Carolinian citizenship. Under the Federal Constitution each state must give full faith and credit to the decisions of the law courts of each other state. There are, however, as we shall see, exceptions to this rule, and pretty embarrassing they can be.

Next to South Carolina the most rigid state in its attitude toward divorce is New York, where the only admissible ground for breaking the marriage tie is adultery. Now however much adultery may be the real cause for complaint, it is no longer *chic* to mention it in a divorce court. Besides, in New York the defendant, if found guilty, is forbidden to remarry for a period of three years. Society doesn't consider it quite sporting to tie up an ex-partner in that way. Consequently, few people of prominence ever sue for divorce these days in New York. They hie themselves to other states where various forms of "mental cruelty" and "desertion" are taken quite, quite seriously by the learned and honorable gentlemen who embody the law. In Manhattan only 418 divorces were granted in 1930. The previous year the number was only 700. In the twenties, when divorce was less easy to obtain west of the Hudson, the figure was considerably higher.

In the five boroughs of New York City, with a population of almost 7,000,000, the total output of divorce decrees in 1930 was 4137, a 20 per cent drop below the previous year. Meanwhile Texas, with less than 6,000,000 inhabitants, led all the states with more than 18,000 decrees. Quietly, without attracting such attention as Nevada seeks and obtains, Texas for many years has been leading all of the states in the number of divorces granted. Last spring one of the yokels from the forks of the creek got up in the legislature at Austin and introduced a bill to limit every man to two divorces. He was laughed down.

Illinois runs Texas a close second in the number of decrees; but, in proportion to population, the Texas mill grinds twice as fast as that of Illinois. Both states require a year's residence for divorce applicants, and each is rather tender hearted in its view of what constitutes cruelty.

Including the Scandinavian

In the Old World, as in the New, the number of divorces is mounting year by year. One of the first subjects to which the government of the new Spanish Republic turned its mind, once it had got rid of His Most Catholic Majesty and had chased the Primate out of the country, was the "need" of an up-to-date divorce law. The same thing happened in Russia several years before. Nowadays a divorce is about the only thing which can be had in a hurry in Moscow. I have seen Russian women stand in a drizzle for an hour to buy a can of milk. I have watched their thirsty menfolk pushing and shivering in a snow-drenched queue for an even longer time while waiting their turns to enter the door of the vodka shop. And then I have splashed through the mud to another section of Moscow and there watched person after person enter the bureau where divorces are granted and get their decrees in a matter of minutes. To a bachelor whose interest was purely academic, it seemed a far simpler and swifter process than trying to get a foreign draft at the Gosbank.

Divorces in Russia, like marriage papers, are granted for the asking, and there is no red tape about it except when there are children to be considered. Then the state sees to it that the interests of the kiddies are cared for before it permits the parents to gad off into other legalized alliances. If no children are involved, it is possible, if one hurries, to be married, divorced, and remarried in the Red paradise within one day's time. But Russians seldom hurry. Their meticulous statisticians have been so occupied with other things that no recent figures are available on marriages and divorces. Sex is about the only aspect of life that hasn't been neatly worked out to the fourth decimal point by the fathers of the Five Year Plan.

Americans, for many reasons, have not invaded the Russian divorce courts. The comity between nations, which obligates our courts to recognize as valid a divorce legally obtained in most of the other foreign lands, does not apply in the case of Russia. For Russia isn't recognized by the United States. There just isn't any such place.

Many experienced observers of the human comedy, heathen and Christian, married and otherwise, consider the divorce laws of the

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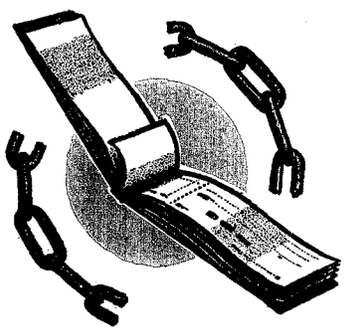
Scandinavian countries the most rational models of such legislation to be found anywhere in this age when so many people wed and tell. This, at least, may be said for the Scandinavian code: it was adopted after long study, and it has kept dirty linen out of the courtroom and eliminated all excuse for the lying and hypocrisy which are taken with a wink in many divorce courts of the United States.

The Scandinavian Commission for Social Legislation was organized in 1910 by representatives of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Its report was made in 1918, and the statutes of the three countries conform to it in a general way, though there are slight variances in detail.

The Scandinavian divorce laws are postulated on the proposition that marriage is a voluntary agreement, which may, like any other contract, be voided by mutual consent, except that where children have been born of the union, they receive first consideration in the event that the union is dissolved.



Mutual desire for a divorce is considered the best possible excuse for asking for it, and for the granting of it. This point of view excludes from the Scandinavian scene all the Anglo-Saxon hocus-pocus gone through with to avoid the appearance of collusion. When a Swede and his wife decide that they no longer care to live together, they may go to a court and jointly make application for a divorce. It is neither demanded nor expected that either of them shall plaster the other with accusations. If they have children, the court arranges a settlement, placing a share of the burden of support and care on the shoulders of both father and mother. After the case has been heard, the couple begin a year's probationary period. If, at the end of twelve months, they still desire a divorce, the decree is granted.

It is, of course, quite possible in Scandinavia, as elsewhere, for an offended party to sue the offender for divorce, but in all three countries a large part of the total number of applications are those made jointly by husband and wife. In Sweden, three-fourths of the divorces in recent years have been granted for "incompatibility."

Denmark has three methods by which a divorce may be obtained: by court decree; by license from the Minister of Justice; and by licenses from the county prefects or the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen. The family property is distributed on the principle that both parties retain their personal rights. Should a wife have a great fortune and her husband only a small one, insufficient to maintain him in a manner to which he has become accustomed, the court may oblige the wife to provide an allowance for the spouse she divorced.

In none of the Scandinavian countries is the divorce rate even half so high as that of the United States. The American rate in 1930 was 1.641 per thousand of population. Denmark's was .659, Sweden's .376, and Norway's .285.

England, since the passage in 1924 of the law forbidding publication of divorce court testimony, has seen a rise in the number of applications, which, to use the favorite adjective of Fleet Street, has been amazing.

In France, where the admissible grounds for divorce offer a latitude liberal enough to accommodate all but the most finical tastes, the divorce rate rose sharply after the war, then seemed to become fairly stable. In the past two or three years, since the French decided to keep closer tab on foreigners seeking the hospitality of their courts, the rate has dipped considerably. The divorces dealt out annually among the forty million Frenchmen have been about equal to the number of decrees issued in the state of Texas, which has one-eighth as large a population as France. Recently divorces in France have amounted to about 7 per cent of the number of marriages in a given period. In the United States the percentage exceeds sixteen.

The Paris "Divorce Mill"

Here one may digress to say that the Paris "divorce mill" so gaudily decried a few years ago was never what it was cracked up to be on this side of the North Atlantic shuttle. In spite of all the hullabaloo raised by editors, preachers, and other persons who prefer to "study conditions" that are far away, while ignoring those under their noses, the number of divorces issued to Americans in Paris during the four years when the "mill" was well oiled with dollars did not average 300 per annum.

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It was only in one year, 1927, that this figure was exceeded.

I was in Paris, as a newspaper correspondent, through the years when news about the divorce mill was avidly devoured by my stay-at-home compatriots. It was a rare week, indeed, when there were as many as ten American divorces to report. But they were always front-page news, even when the persons involved were unknown outside of their own neighborhoods. In France it is forbidden by law to print the news of divorce decrees until they have been published in the *Journal Officiel*, which may be weeks after the decree has been granted. The American news agencies, with their usual hustle and promptness, hurdled this difficulty and delay by engaging tipsters in the courts to ferret out the names as fast as the applications were made, and to keep an eye out for the subsequent decrees. Frequently a correspondent would be at his desk skimming the cream off of one of M. Poincaré's Homeric three-day orations in the *Chambre des Deputés*, or pounding out a piece on a financial or diplomatic situation of seeming consequence and importance, when a message would arrive from his New York office, saying: "Conglomerated Press has Mary Snowplow Oskaloosa Iowa suing divorce Paris how."

Now that concluding word "how," expanded from cable-ese into plain everyday American, meant, "And why in the devil haven't you sent that item?" So the correspondent would shoo all world problems out of his mind and go stalking the elusive news of Mrs. Mary Snowplow. Likelier than not, if Mrs. Snowplow had stayed in Oskaloosa even the papers in the next county would have ignored her divorce, but now it would be printed from Bangor to San Diego, under a Paris date line. Mrs. Snowplow, of course, went to Paris so that her divorce would have "privacy."

The bribery of *concierges* (to have them lie about one's length of residence), the tricks which Parisian shysters were tempted into playing upon the courts by the dollars passed on to them by American lawyers, appeared for a while to be nobody's business. But one fine day, after the franc had been saved and M. Raymond Poincaré could take a moment off for less important matters, the government put a stop to these abuses. Means were promptly taken to assure that future plaintiffs in divorce cases should really be *bona fide* residents of France. With a fine flair for a spread on those American front pages, Marianne picked a propitious moment for putting her sabot down on a system which had become a scandal.

A former Secretary of State in the Washington government had been in France for several months awaiting a decree of divorce, and his lawyer before the bar at Versailles was a former president of the Third Republic. The plaintiff had rented from an American woman a house in a village near Versailles, but, subsequently, he found life in a Paris hotel more agreeable than the dubious *confort modern* of the rustic chalet. When the day arrived for a decision, the court at Versailles ruled that his case was not in its jurisdiction, as the plaintiff had not established a legal residence but only an address. The name of the plaintiff and that of his *avocat* were sufficiently glamorous to float the story around the world. While this news was still warm, the Ministry of Justice ordered a curb put on divorces for foreigners and began an investigation which resulted in the disbarment of several French lawyers. Since then a number of American lawyers who were living in ease in Paris have come home to two rooms and a bath — real American baths, thank God! But how the rooms are small, *n'est-ce pas, messieurs?* The wife of the former Cabinet officer subsequently obtained a divorce in Reno and he married again.

Party of the First Part

With so much divorcing going on at home and abroad, and with such a diversity of laws among the various states, the question is eternally being debated as to whether a divorce obtained in one place is always valid in another, especially if the "another" happens to have been the divorced party's real honest residence both before and after the divorce. Over these questions the lawyers wrangle and disagree among themselves. Get one of them warmed up on the subject and he will sit up half the night, citing you precedents either way. Andrews *versus* Andrews, Jones *versus* Jones — that sort of thing.

The full faith and credit which each state grants to each other state is given only when the court decisions were not based on fraudulent testimony. There's the rub. The matrons and husbands who go gallivanting out to Reno

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for a six-week holiday are asked by the judge if they have established their residence there. They all reply Yes. Then they are asked if they intend to continue such residence. And again, with a Pullman reservation in their pockets, they say Yes. If, subsequently, they have the time, money, and inclination to put up a semblance of keeping even an address in Reno, no lawyer is likely to undertake the job of trying to prove that fraudulent misrepresentations cropped into their divorce. Otherwise, one never can tell. Reno divorces have been upheld in other states and they have also been declared illegal in these same states. The same has happened to Mexican divorces.

Mr. Julius Hockfelder, a member of the New York Bar Association, has contended that an action to set aside a Mexican divorce must be instituted in Mexico, and courts have upheld that contention. "A decree obtained in New York declaring a foreign decree null and void makes it so only in New York, by reason of the limitation of its powers," Mr. Hockfelder said.

Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays, another recognized authority on divorce, commenting last summer on the rush to Reno, said: "The Reno divorce is absolutely binding and legal all over the world if the court there has what is known as jurisdiction. That is because of the full faith and credit clause of the Federal Constitution. The Reno court has this jurisdiction if the party sued is served personnally with a process within the State of Nevada or where a party enters an appearance in Nevada through an attorney, submitting himself or herself for trial."

All of which moved another New York lawyer, Richard A. Knight, to burst into print with a statement that "not one out of ten Reno divorce decrees could stand up if attacked . . . the blessing in connection with this circumstance is, of course, that they only involve 'nice people,' and, accordingly, are extremely unlikely to be attacked."

There you are. You may take your choice. Or you may puzzle yourself still further with the fact that America has so many and such varied laws on divorce that a man may be considered a bigamist in one state and not married at all in another. A child who is regarded as a lawful heir in one state may be looked upon as illegitimate in another. For twenty-five years at least, organizations and individuals have been advocating uniform divorce lesiglation for these forty-eight states. There is one school which persistently beats the drum for arriving at a uniform divorce law through the agency of a Constitutional amendment. It may well be doubted if this will be brought about. For one thing it is too sensible and practicable to recommend itself in these giddy days. And, for another, there has grown up a well-founded prejudice against Constitutional amendments. It seems that Constitutional amendments, like a good many marriages, have failed to come up to expectations. Indeed, there are millions who would like to see the Constitution and one of its amendments granted a divorce.

The Strangers

Those who are always companioned by loneliness,
Walking in quietude, never may tell
Tales of the sweet sudden spring-misted places
Wherein they dwell.

Silent and proud is their passing and closely
Is woven the veil of the secrets they bear.
Nothing remains but the sound of their footstep,
The scent of their hair.

— *Angelica Gibbs*

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Birth Control

What It Is Doing to America's Population

by **LOUIS I. DUBLIN**

THE DECLINE in the birth rate is a peculiarly modern phenomenon which no longer calls for much comment. It has, however, set in motion forces which are bound, in the next generation or two, to produce serious national and international consequences and may, perhaps, even prove potent enough to determine the future peace and prosperity of mankind. No wonder that statesmen and intelligent people everywhere are becoming concerned over what is taking place and are seeking to understand and to interpret their own population problems in the light of world experience.

New tendencies are especially marked in America. Changes in the reproductive habits of our people, which have been going on unnoticed for several decades, have at last begun to affect very definitely the structure of our society. It is now clear that the common expectation of an exceedingly large population in the future — one consistent with the wide area and the enormous natural resources of the United States — will not be realized. We are evidently not destined to become the great reservoir of humanity where liberty and prosperity are to reside side by side. Instead, we shall from now on accustom ourselves to hear questions like these: How long will America continue to increase in numbers; what will its maximum population be; how rapidly will the population decline once it begins to fall; what effect will this decline have on age distribution and therefore upon business and employment conditions; and how will it influence America's position of leadership abroad? In short, now that our frontier has completely disappeared, a new era in the history of the nation has set in. The future of America and the part which it will play in world affairs will depend to a large extent upon current trends in population.

Until fairly recently we were a fertile people. Large families were the rule in all sections and especially in the rural areas of the country. We not only welcomed but actively encouraged by every means within our power, huge numbers of pioneers to come and raise their families under the favorable circumstances provided by the new world. The rate of increase was exceedingly high and each succeeding census showed remarkable additions, continuing decade after decade. In the first seventy years of our national history, the population increased eightfold. But since then, as in other civilized countries, a new way of life has set in. Various social forces were at work to weaken the family bond and to reduce the number of children.

To-day, the average couple is bringing into the world only half as many offspring as was customary only two generations ago. In addition, an entirely new attitude regarding immigration has developed. Stringent legal restrictions have virtually closed our gates to foreigners. Such rapid changes in fundamental habits and attitudes are entirely unprecedented and entail serious social, economic, and political consequences. I propose in this paper to trace briefly some of the more important of these and to investigate in particular the size and composition of the population which we are likely to have in the course of the next few generations.

II

IN THE YEARS preceding 1880, the birth rate in most countries was between 35 and 40 for each 1000 of population. This figure is not very far from the upper limit of human reproductive capacity in a normally organized population. To-day, with very few important exceptions, as in Russia and Italy, the rates vary from 15 to 20 per 1000. In the United States, accurate birth registration on a wide

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scale was begun in 1915; and since then the rate has fallen from 25 per 1000 to under 19, or about 25% in fifteen years. To make matters more acute, there is as yet no indication that this tendency is at an end.

On the contrary, the birth rate is declining faster than ever. In the last few years, the rate has been falling about one unit per thousand per year. This decrease is very widespread, being especially pronounced in our cities and industrial areas. New York City, for example, which has always been characterized by its youth and high fecundity, last year had a birth rate of 17.6 per 1000; Chicago had a rate of 17.1; and large cities on the Pacific Coast show rates ranging between 12 and 14 per 1000 of population.

This phenomenon is all the more striking because the age distribution of our people is such as to favor high birth rates. Because of the heavy immigration of young adults and the high birth rates of past generations, our population is still loaded with persons at the reproductive ages, factors which make the present birth rate higher than the current fecundity actually indicates. In other words, the low birth rates which now prevail would be lower still if the population were constituted, with reference to age distribution, as in other more stable countries.

For a number of years, my colleague Dr. Lotka and I have been endeavoring to find out what the "true" birth rate would be at the current rate of fertility, if our age distribution were like that of a stable population. After much study, we have estimated that in 1928 the true birth rate for the white population would have been 17.8 per 1000, rather than the observed figure of 19.4. The same peculiarity of our age distribution, namely, the large proportion of young married people, makes our published death rates too low. Thus the true death rate for 1929 was 16.1, as contrasted with the published rate of 11.5. Instead of enjoying truly large natural increases each year, as the published figures would seem to indicate, we are living, as it were, on our old vital capital. When the proper adjustments are made for our abnormal age distribution, we find that on the score of our actual fertility and mortality, we have already almost reached the condition of a stationary population. In 1928 the true rate of natural increase was only 1.7 per 1000, as contrasted with 7.9, the observed figure; and for the year 1930, we estimate that the true rate of natural increase was virtually zero.

It is this situation which invites speculation as to how far the current tendencies toward smaller families and stabilization of population may go. While the recent attitude of many writers and of students in this field has wholeheartedly favored smaller families, it is doubtful whether many of them have perceived what is actually happening and what it implies for the future. Few indeed have suspected the ultimate consequences of a constantly diminishing number of births on our social organization in the coming generations.

Before discussing future prospects, it is necessary to bear in mind the various forces that have operated in the past, and that are now operating to depress the birth rate. We may roughly classify these under two main heads: biological, and social and economic.

How far a direct biological diminution of fertility may have been responsible for the recent decline in the birth rate is at present an open question. Certain writers have maintained that fertility always declines with advancing civilization; that there are cycles in fecundity and that the rate rises and falls in succession over long periods of time. These writers hold further that universal education and other advantages of modern civilization which affect favorably the standard of living of the people, tend to diminish the capacity to breed. But it appears to me that their methods of research are not sufficiently refined to permit an unprejudiced observer to differentiate between internal and external causes, between the loss of fertility due to natural laws and the conscious control of fertility from without. The changes which have occurred have been too rapid and too extreme to reflect a natural phenomenon.

It is much more likely that the main cause for the decline in the birth rate is the rise and spread of the birth control movement. While some loss of natural capacity to bear children may be granted, it is not the prime force at work. The evidence, in my judgment, points to the conscious control of propagation through the use of contraceptive methods as the new element which has altered the situation. Within recent decades such knowledge has

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penetrated all over the globe with marked, even striking results. Especially have the professional classes, the skilled artisans, and the high-grade industrial workers in cities throughout the world been quick to put into practice the information they had obtained. And recently the ever-widening discussion and the bitter controversies on the subject of birth control have focused the attention of people of all ranks of society upon the power that is in their hands to determine the size of their families. Flourishing birth control clinics are scattered in many places and reach large masses of people.

To show how effective is this movement, I may refer, in advance of publication, to the results of a very interesting study which has been made into the habits of 10,000 women who, in the last few years, have availed themselves of the services offered by the Birth Control Clinic of New York conducted by Mrs. Sanger and her associates. From this investigation, we find that 93% of the women said they had used birth control methods of some kind prior to consulting the clinic. Although all but 9% of these women reported some success through one or another of the methods they had employed, they came to the Birth Control Clinic for further advice and help.

These women, on the score of intelligence, are a selected group; but at the same time, they show how widespread is the use of various contraceptive methods. The principal races and religions are all well represented among them — Jews, Catholics, and Protestants being found in large numbers. Reports of similar groups in England and in other countries of the world show very definitely that some kind of information regarding birth control is fairly universal. That such knowledge is not always effective is also clear; but who can now doubt that the current low birth rates are attributable in large measure to the success of the various means of family limitation in common usage?

Many liberating influences have been at work during the past fifty years which have combined to make fundamental changes in social attitudes, habits, and customs inevitable. As a result of improved and complicated machinery, the great masses in all civilized lands have been better fed than they were generations ago. Now our insistent demand for things and still more things has been satisfied apparently at the cost of our biological desire for the old-fashioned home of our ancestors with its family group composed of many children. The automobile, the radio, and the innumerable accessories which we deem essential to modern life play such an important rôle in our estimation of values that they almost completely submerge the claims of children. Who ever saw, among the vari-colored displays in our street cars or elsewhere, any glowing advertisements praising in similar terms the virtues of a large family?

It is reasonable to assume, then, as methods of birth control become still further diffused and more effective, that the birth rate will continue to decline, not only in America, but in Europe and elsewhere. Especially is this result to be expected in view of the weakening of existing moral, legal, and religious restrictions upon the practice of birth control. The Bishops of the English Church have, for the first time, altered their position of absolute condemnation. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has published a report favorable to the use of birth control information under certain limited conditions. The medical profession which has, on the whole, been most hostile to the use of contraceptives, has reversed its stand, and in an official pronouncement of the New York County Medical Society has taken a more open-minded attitude. Only the Roman Catholic Church has kept intact its traditional point of view and has remained adamant to any suggestion of change. Although the subject is still controversial, it is only fair to say that those who unqualifiedly condemn the practice of birth control are becoming fewer and are finding a rapidly diminishing public support. The outlook for the future is very clearly toward a wider application of these methods, and toward their dissemination to all people. Whether we like it or not, we look forward to much lower birth rates in all parts of the world.

III

How great will be the influence of the various factors we have been discussing and how far the current movement will go, are open questions. In dealing with this subject, we shall first make the very conservative assumption that the birth rate will continue to fall gradually to a figure where fertility and mor-

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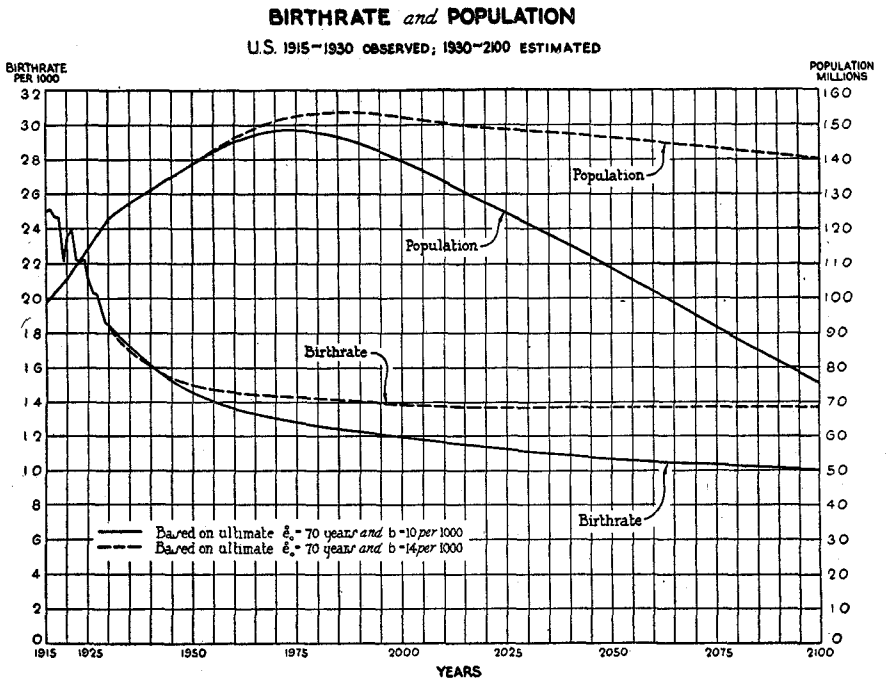
BIRTHRATE and POPULATION
U.S. 1915–1930 OBSERVED; 1930–2100 ESTIMATED
BIRTHRATE PER 1000
POPULATION MILLIONS
Population
Population
Birthrate
Birthrate
Based on ultimate $\mathring{e}_0$ = 70 years and b = 10 per 1000
Based on ultimate $\mathring{e}_0$ = 70 years and b = 14 per 1000
YEARS

tality practically balance each other. We shall furthermore assume that this stabilized population will enjoy the very best mortality conditions which we consider possible of attainment with our present knowledge. Certain studies we have made at other times indicate that the life expectation in America can be extended about ten years more, that is, to about seventy years. To gain these added years, the entire country will have to avail itself of all the advances which have been recently made in medicine, and utilize all the public health measures which control most effectively the preventable diseases.

When all this knowledge of health and hygiene is put into operation, the death rate in a stationary population will be slightly over 14 per 1000 living. In such a population the birth rate will equal the death rate. In order to be entirely conservative, we have assumed that this state of affairs will be reached some time close to the year 1970. For the purposes of the investigation, we have also assumed that the birth rate will remain approximately at this level for a relatively long period of years — up to, say, 2100. Let us see what will happen to the population of the United States under these assumptions.

In the first place, the observed rate of increase of population will be much reduced, gradually reaching zero. We expect the census of 1940 to show a total of only about 131,000,000 people. The rate of increase during the ten year period will be a little over 6½%, as compared with 16.1% in the previous decade. It will surprise many readers and disappoint many of our manufacturers and business men who have been counting on the population continuing to increase at the old rate or near it that a few years should make so great a difference in population increase. Thus in the single year 1923, there was a gain of 2,135,000 people, while in 1930 it was only 1,110,000. By 1950, the population will be 138,000,000; and by 1960, 146,500,000. On this theory, the nation will reach its maximum size between 1980 and 1990 and will then number close to 154,000,000 people. Thereafter it will slowly decline and by the year 2100, it will have fallen back to 140,000,000. These figures, of course, do not make any provision for additions through immigration but depend solely upon our assumptions of the best possible mortality and a true birth rate of about 14 per 1000.

I confess, however, that the suppositions on which these estimates are based are altogether too optimistic. If we may judge by the precipitate declines in the birth rates that are now occurring all over the world and in our country especially, I expect the figure to drop well below the point of 14 per 1000 by 1970. This is all the more likely to occur because of the continued operation of two forces. The first is the rapid Americanization of the foreign born; the second is the accelerated movement of the population from the country to the cities.

Recent analyses have shown that an appreciable part of the current birth rate in many states is traceable to its first generation of our foreign stock. We find, however, that in succeeding generations the fertility of the foreign stock more and more closely approximates that of the native population. The next generation or two will, therefore, see the diminution, if not the elimination, of the increments that have come from our foreign stock in the past.

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In like manner, the movement from the farms to the cities will expose large numbers of people to the influences and the modes of life conducive to low birth rates. The national birth rate is kept up to its present level because nearly half of the people still live on farms or in small towns, where contraceptive practices are not as yet practiced so widely. Moreover, there is an economic value in large families on the old-fashioned farm. But the mechanization of the farm will modify all this.

Dr. O. E. Baker, the Senior Economist of the United States Department of Agriculture, estimates that if the present drift continues, the proportion of our population living on farms will be reduced to one-sixth of the total and, furthermore, that if in the harvesting of cotton and of corn certain machine processes become successful, the proportion will be reduced to one-eighth. This is, of course, speculation. Nevertheless, it is fairly certain that in the future the cities will continue to grow at the expense of the country, and that the birth rates will decline seriously on this account alone.

I have accordingly traced an alternative course which calls for a birth rate of 13 per 1000 in 1970; 12.0 by 2000; 10.7 by 2050; and, finally, a rate of 10.0 per 1000 of population by the year 2100. If this figure seems very low, it should be remembered that it has already been experienced in a number of large Continental cities. Berlin, Oslo, Stockholm, and Vienna have for a number of years reported figures either as low or even lower. The troublesome years after the World War have seen these cities losing rather than gaining population. I have assumed that the birth rate will become stabilized at this low point of 10 per 1000 at the end of the next century. Under these conditions, the estimates of the future population of the United States are very much lower than the figures given above. The total population will reach a lower maximum (148,000,000 in 1970) and will fall rather sharply thereafter. It should decline to 140,000,000 by the year 2000; to 109,000,000 by 2050; and to 75,000,000 by 2100.

These figures and estimates, like the previous ones, are based on the assumption that there will be no increase through immigration. It is entirely possible, of course, that long before the dates just mentioned, the country will realize the need for an addition of new blood and will reopen the gates to immigrants. But our calculations cannot possibly take this possibility into consideration. If the declines in population which we have indicated should materialize, it will be the first time in recorded history that a country with a low population density and with rich natural resources like our own, has taken so rapid a downhill course as to reduce its numbers by one-half in the short period of eighty years. The chart accompanying this article traces the course of the prospective birth rates and the population figures on the two bases we have discussed above.

IV

It will be interesting to analyze some of the changes in the structure of the population that will follow on each of the foregoing assumptions. Under the first condition — that is, estimating that we shall ultimately have an expectation of life of seventy years associated with a birth rate sufficient to maintain a stationary population — the age distribution will be materially changed from the present one. In the first place, the number of young people will be considerably reduced; approximately 29% of the population will be under twenty years of age in 1950, as contrasted with a percentage of 52.5 in 1850 and 40.7 in 1920. The proportion of those in the middle years of life, that is, between the ages of twenty and fifty years, will change very little, varying only slightly around a basic figure of 40%.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that according to our calculations the group twenty to fifty years of age does not change substantially in its relative size from 1850 down to 2100. The changes in the proportion of the population at the older ages, on the other hand, will be as spectacular as in the younger ages, but here a marked increase and not a decrease will occur. In 1950 over 25% of the people will be past fifty years of age, as contrasted with 9% in 1850 and 15% in 1920. Ultimately, if the final birth rate is conceded to be 13.9 per 1000 in the year 2100, the proportion of persons fifty years old and over will reach over 35%.

Under the second assumption, that is, that the birth rate will decline to the low figure of 10 per 1000 per annum, the changes in the age composition will be even more pronounced. Again we find that the proportion of persons in

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the middle years of life (the ages between twenty and fifty) remains fairly constant constituting, as before, somewhat less than 40% of the population. It is apparent that the proportionate size of this age group is independent of the birth rate; but at other ages, the proportion of persons changes with the birth rate. The higher the birth rate the larger the number of young people; the lower the birth rate, the smaller the proportion. Accordingly under the conditions of a birth rate of 10 per 1000, we will find only 21% of the population in the ages under 20. In 1850, this group formed 52.5% of the total. The decline will be balanced by a corresponding increase in the proportion of those fifty years of age and over. They will constitute over 40% of the entire population in the year 2100. This is truly an extraordinary situation.

America is evidently on the way to becoming a nation of older people instead of the youthful one it is now. Little have the proponents of the birth control movement realized how powerful a force they have released and what serious national and international consequences would follow in the train of their propaganda. The tendencies ushered in by the declining birth rates have not received the attention they deserve. Upon them will depend in large measure the kind of a country and the character of the civilization in which our descendants will live.

A nation composed largely of middle aged and elderly people and unduly weighted with elderly women will be quite different in its tempo from one containing a majority of young males. Young people will not be in the saddle as they are now and the atmosphere will in consequence be much more sober and conservative. Ambitious schemes which only the concentrated energy of youth can carry through and which have played so large a part in our national development, will most likely be discouraged. Instead of expansion in our demand for goods and services, there will be contraction; instead of increased markets, there will be dwindling ones. Land values due to the lighter pressure of population will probably go down and there will be greater competition for jobs. A very disturbing picture indeed could be painted of the distorted social and economic conditions which may result from the changed internal organization of our future society. But there is every reason to believe that when our people perceive the consequences that are following from our restrictionist immigration policy and from the reduced size of American families, a real effort will be made to alter the situation.

There will also be need for external or rather international readjustments of an equally profound character. Changes such as we have been considering in the population of the United States will have their repercussion throughout the world. Similar phenomena are in evidence in many countries at the present time. In England and in Germany, they are if anything more pronounced and are giving concern to statesmen and leaders of all shades of opinion. But, on the other hand, certain large areas such as Russia and India continue to enjoy very rapid increases of population. The demand for a high standard of living so characteristic of the Western world has not yet made its impress on the Orient or upon Russia. An extreme form of nationalism, coupled with a type of religious fervor, is now at work in both countries and is maintaining and stimulating their abnormally high fertility. What will be the result of this clash of low and high birth rate nations in the future world?

In the last analysis, numbers will count. This will be more than ever true in the coming generation when different political, social, and economic ideals will strive for supremacy. The near future will probably see no semblance of master and subject peoples. The rapid spread of industrialism and of popular education throughout the world will make for political equality, except as numbers upset the balance. The individual man will more and more come into his own. Under such conditions, if the people of Russia, of India, and of China continue to people the earth, will they not, in all probability, be the dominating influence in it also?

There has never been greater need for the study of the population problem both here and everywhere. Conference and understanding among the nations are called for to eliminate the hazards that are implied in the current tendencies of the birth rate and the migration policy of the nations.

Next month — "Common Colds and Common Sense," by James Hitchcock, M.D.

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RUBBER

The Industry That Never Grew Up

by **HOWARD WOLF**

If Christopher Columbus had been possessed of all the vision with which biographers have credited him, he would have died a corpulent and richly dight Croesus instead of a lanky, out-at-heels knave. For it was Columbus who, on his return from his second voyage to the West Indies, brought back to Europe in general and Isabella in particular tales of a strange tree that gave a white milk when cut. He did not realize, nor did the subsequent explorers who watched the native Indians playing with a lively black ball made from this same milk, that the gum of the *Hevéa* tree was more valuable than any new route to India.

Indeed, no one realized that it had any worth until 1770 when we find Dr. Joseph Priestley, discoverer of oxygen, noting that the substance in its hardened state was amazingly adapted "to the purpose of wiping from paper the marks of a black lead pencil." (One used it to rub out, so it was christened "rubber.") Dr. Priestley's attention had been attracted to the substance by "Mr. Nairne, Mathematical Instrument Maker, opposite the Royal Exchange," who was vending erasers to English draftsmen at three shillings per half cubic inch. The commerce which began then is now represented in the United States alone by factories having average annual sales of one billion dollars. To-day the eraser is a minor item among the thirty thousand rubber articles loosely classified in some thousand different lines.

Drawings by Lewis Daniel

Columbus and Nairne — these two names start the rubber hierarchy. And in between come the unknown Mexican Indians who are reported by early seventeenth century writings as making shoes, clothing, and other waterproof articles from the gum of a tree. Samples were sent to Europe as curiosities in 1736, but it was not until 1823 that Charles Mackintosh of Glasgow applied his Scot's ingenuity to the problem and evolved a process for spreading a rubber solution on two pieces of fabric and bringing them together under pressure to create the garment that still bears his name. About the same time, Thomas Hancock, an Englishman, launched into the manufacture of hose, carriage tires, and a variety of products.

Unfortunately, however, all such articles were governed by the weather; rubber coats hardened like iron in winter, turned liquid and flowed away in summer. This difficulty was solved in 1839 by Charles Goodyear, of New Haven, Connecticut, when, partly by accident, he was impelled to heat crude rubber, sulphur, and white lead together. The result was vulcanization and the inauguration of the soft rubber industry. (Hard rubber waited another decade for a discoverer, and then it was achieved by another Goodyear — Nelson, brother of Charles. His first patent was obtained in 1851 and the first use of his product was in the making of imitation whalebone.) The huge rubber plantations of to-day are largely due to the late Sir Henry Wickham, who plunged into the Amazon jungles and emerged with thousands of *Hevéa* tree seeds — which seeds are now 7,000,000 acres of plantations annually supplying 800,000 tons of rubber to the factories made possible by Goodyear.

Goodyear's progress, even after he discovered the secret of vulcanization, was far from smooth. In the first place, he had to fight

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numerous patent battles before he was awarded a decisive victory and undisputed claim to the vulcanization process. Then, too, the commercial projects which followed were unhappy for him, even though they were eventually to result in the mammoth Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. In 1852 he went to Europe to establish factories for the manufacture of vulcanization by his process. One such company, in France, failed, and Goodyear was arrested for debt and imprisoned in Paris.

Last on the calendar of rubber saints is John Boyd Dunlop who, when bicycling came into favor and solid tires were all that the rubber industry could offer, thought of pneumatic tires. Unquestionably Dunlop was responsible for the cycling craze, to many historians the epitome of the Gay Nineties. Then came the automobile, and rubber swept into the realms of Big Business. There has been a penalty, however. Instead of challenging the motor car industry in size and strength, rubber has become a mere dependent of the auto makers. Eighty-five per cent of all rubber articles are utilized by the automobile; eighty per cent of all rubber articles are tires and tubes alone. In other words, the industry that outgrew its swaddling clothes when the automobile came into being is still in short pants. It will not outgrow them until it ceases to regard tire production as its chief reason for existence.

There are signs that the time is at hand. For a decade rubber has been a singularly unprofitable black sheep of Big Business. Earnings on the ten billion dollar sales of that period have been less than two per cent, earnings on invested capital less than one per cent.

Hevéa

Fierce competition in the tire field has brought this about. There is no immediate prospect of material alleviation of that competition. The rubber baron, realizing and accepting that fact, is flirting with the idea of new products, new uses, and it would not be surprising if important marriages were contracted. Other manufacturers will soon be looking askance at the inroads of this protean substance into their own territory. Consider, first, the uses to which rubber has already been put. Auto tires, hair combs, nipples, hot water bottles, garden hose, syringes, bath mats, bathing caps, jar rings, belts, garters, overshoes, raincoats, sponges — they all come from the milk of the *Hevéa* tree after it has been congealed, washed, and compounded. Rubber has muscled in on leather (shoe heels and soles, factory belting, fire hose); it is cutting in on steel — the steel buggy tire never had a chance after the rubber one arrived, and the rubber-lined chute in industry outwears the steel chute ten to one. Babbitt, bronze, and lignum-vitæ bearings are giving way to the cutless rubber product. The water-lubricated soft rubber bearing is proving indispensable in marine service, where the greatest difficulty encountered in the construction of power boats driven by screw propellers has been the development of a bearing that would resist abrasion. Dredging equipment, hydraulic turbines, every sort of machinery where shaft scoring is a problem and water lubrication is available is being fitted with the rubber product.

Hand-engraved rubber plates figure in a new color printing process, and rubber ink-spreading rolls have shown their superiority in the

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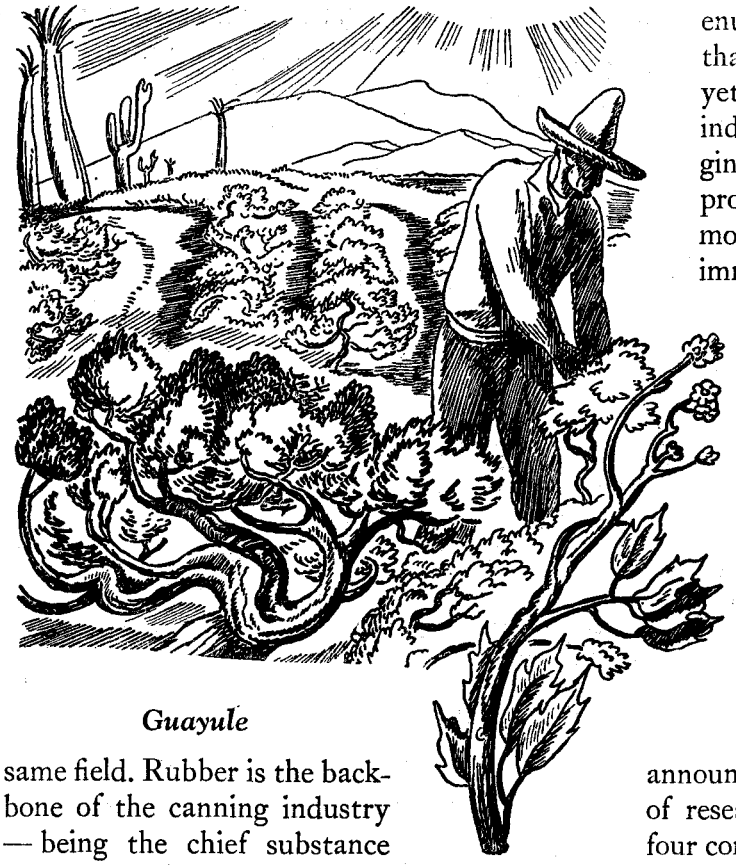

Guayule

same field. Rubber is the backbone of the canning industry — being the chief substance used in making the food containers air-tight — the insulator of your telephone, the material for surgeons' gloves, for tubing to convey antiseptic solutions, for flooring, sheeting, bandages. The sports world knows it too, through the golf ball, once an unsatisfactory gutta-percha affair, the tennis ball, the football bladder, the billiard cushion.

In 1925, 164,230 men and women were needed to coax these and other gadgets from the rubber tree. How many of them are still needed in these depression times is not known, but it is obvious that rubber is suffering along with other major industries. Last September the United States Rubber Company announced a readjustment policy, similar to that taken by the steel and automotive companies but different in that it involves the five-day week rather than a straight wage cut. Hereafter, the United States Rubber factories, which employ about 25,000 people, will operate on a five-day week and, as a consequence, will pay their workers — from President F. B. Davis, Jr. down to the office boys — one-eleventh less salary than they have been receiving. So far as is known, this is the first corporation of such magnitude to establish the five-day week as a fixed working basis.

But, wage cuts or no, it can be seen from the enumeration of rubber articles listed above that rubber is important to us to-day. And yet, as has been said, it is the belief of the industry that rubber's service is only beginning. It is the Lon Chaney of nature, a protean substance capable of assuming almost any desired properties. Soft rubber, immensely flexible, and hard rubber, inflexible, differ only in the amount of sulphur used and the heat applied during the compounding. Toying with his choice from half a thousand pigments, the chemist can produce a rubber specially qualified to resist abrasion, another that will resist corrosion, or heat, or light and oxidation, or that will not swell in oil.

A few months ago the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, the largest rubber concern in the world, announced that it had just recruited a corps of research workers to be dispatched to the four corners of the world in search of new ideas for rubber products. The experimental departments long maintained by each of the larger companies are grinding out unheralded discoveries regularly, and more and more of them are being given a chance in the commercial field. The conveyance of acids has but recently been revolutionized by lining pipes and tank cars with hard rubber, a step that eliminates the dangerous and expensive transportation in the glass carboy of yesterday. Rubber "overshoes" have been developed to remove to-day's greatest aviation hazard — the formation of ice on wings.

The trend of the industry was lately expressed by Frank A. Seiberling, one of its major figures. "We have come to think of rubber in terms of tires," he said, "but rubber is still a young industry. The applications of the raw product to building and engineering lines, for example, have as yet been little developed. The field of rubber flooring and paving has tremendous possibilities. In the future dwellings, hotels, office buildings, it will be as essential a part as plumbing or electrical fittings are to-day. It will become universal shock-absorbing material, cushioning the blows which damage equipment, deadening the noise which makes us a nation of neurasthenics."

W. C. Geer, an eminent scientist and former

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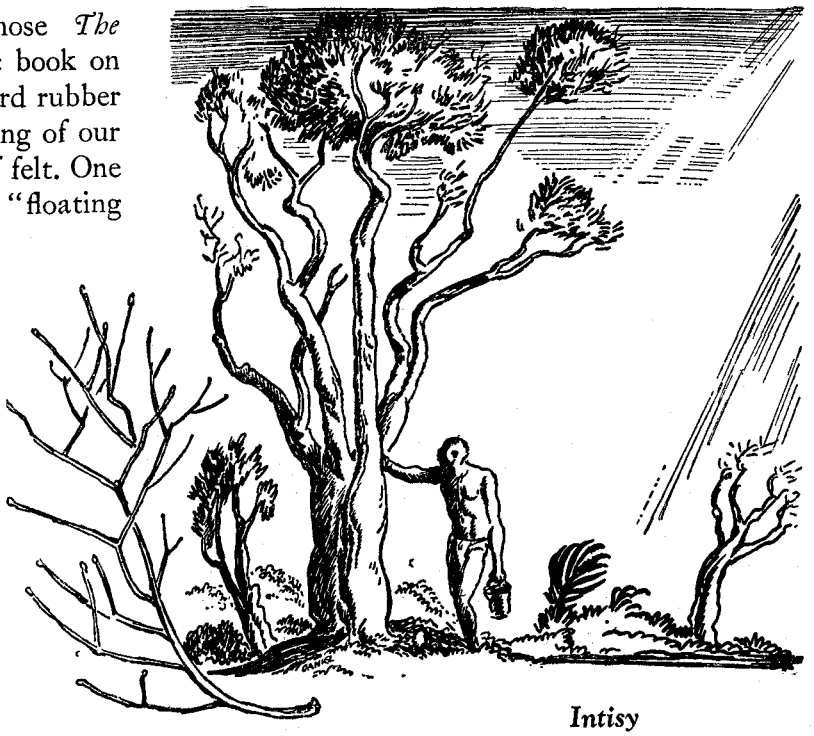
rubber industry executive, whose *The Reign of Rubber* is the authentic book on the subject, has predicted the hard rubber dwelling house when the dwindling of our timber supply really makes itself felt. One of this year's motor cars features "floating power" that eliminates vibration; it was achieved by mounting the engine on rubber. England already has streets of rubber blocks, and America short sections of them. One in Akron, Ohio, was taken up after four years; it had been worn down just one thirty-second of an inch. The rubber-cushioned railway car wheel is already with us, though it is not yet a commercial product. And a rubber wheel has been tested over many hundreds of miles on an engine of the Akron, Canton, and Youngstown Railway. Flexible couplings for shaftings and even the drive wheels of the largest locomotives are foreseen by the rubber industry.



Intisy

Four years ago I dashed about an inland lake in a rubber speedboat. The rubber boat has an advantage which will mean its acceptance some day: it does not become water-logged. Rubber is now a principal ingredient in dirigible and zeppelin envelopes and gas cells, and numerous rubber parts are found in every airplane. Last year a Washington, D. C., inventor constructed a glider using a framework of rubber tubing inflated to rigidity with air. It is his contention that, in case of crash, the ship would "blow out" instead of splintering and injuring the occupants. He plans a small powered airplane of similar construction and believes that eventually even larger ships will be built on the same principle. Dr. Geer believes that rubber may some day furnish fuel to airplanes and motor cars. Converting it into combustible oil has already been achieved.

Dr. Geer also prophesies the rubber newspaper, suggesting that a combination of rubber and cellulose may replace wood pulp when the conjectural failure of lumber supply occurs. Rubber grass is a feature of miniature golf courses (or was, when miniature golf courses were featured) and an added attraction in many undertakers' display windows. The rubber leaf in exact reproduction of the natural variety should interest museums, and confound Joyce Kilmer, even if it never becomes, as has been suggested, necessary to tie it to New York posts in order that the residents may have some notion of what a tree looks like. It was made possible by the same Akronite who invented a method for reproducing the finest doilies in rubber. The latter creations have been on sale in five-and-ten cent stores for some time.

Rubber Prices Need Stabilizing

Commercial development of a majority of these products is held back by but one thing — the assurance of a sufficient quantity of raw material at a cheap price. Rubber streets will become familiar only when rubber prices approach the cheapness of brick and concrete. Even at the current all-time record low of some five cents a pound, crude rubber is still too expensive to be utilized as the chief ingredient of anything offered in the highly competitive pavement field.

This five cent price, however, is not too high to forbid the manufacture of hundreds of other rubber articles that are not being manufactured currently. They are not being placed on the market because there is no assurance that prices will continue at the present level. The fluctuations in raw rubber quotations are one

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of the wonders of the modern business world. In the past twenty years they have ranged from three dollars, and in the past decade from a dollar, to the present nickel a pound. Imagine constructing a factory and installing machinery for manufacturing rubber articles to compete with articles made from leather or wood and then watching rubber prices soar from a five or ten cent level to a thirty or forty cent mark. It isn't going to be done.

Will rubber prices be stabilized, and at a cheap level? Leaders of the industry think so, but not in the immediate future. For stabilization of prices, American manufacturer control is necessary. This can be achieved by (1) tremendous multiplication of American-owned *Hevéa* tree plantations; (2) immense plantings of temperate zone rubber-producing shrubs or weeds in this country; (3) perfection of synthetic rubber. Some progress has been made in all three directions. Little will be done, however, so long as the raw product from the Far East holds at its present low prices.

Goldenrod

The only sizable holdings in the East are the United States Rubber Company's 150,000 acres in Sumatra and Malay, and Goodyear's 100,000 acres in Sumatra. In addition, Harvey Firestone has a concession in Liberia and his friend Henry Ford has another in Brazil. Ford has cleared a little less than 4000 of his 4,000,000 acres of jungle and, even if he is successful, will not be exporting rubber for years. Firestone has 44,000 of his 1,000,000 acres under cultivation and 100,000 under development, while he has explored 250,000 more. His first yield from 12,000 acres is expected to be sent to the United States this year.

The *Hevéa* tree producing areas under American manufacturers' control will be readily recognized as mere drops in the bucket when it is pointed out that British Malay has nearly 3,000,000 acres planted in rubber, the Dutch East Indies a like area, Ceylon 525,000 acres, India and Burma over 150,000 acres, and other countries nearly 600,000. These plantations are monuments to Sir Henry Wickham. When he interested the Kew Botanic Gardens in gathering seeds from the *Hevéa* tree for planting at Kew and eventual cultivation, all export rubber was coming from the Amazon jungles, where Indian serfs gashed the wild trees and dried the milk over their fires. Wickham returned from Brazil in 1876 and, a fortnight after planting, his seeds sprouted. The shoots were sent to Ceylon and the next year twenty-two of the Ceylon trees were shipped to Singapore. Later, seeds were sent to Borneo and Malay.

In 1907, for the first time, exports of plantation rubber numbered a thousand tons. By 1914, plantation rubber had exceeded the wild in export tons. To-day, wild constitutes but three per cent of the total, and Ford has descended on Brazil to lay out plantations in the very spot from which, not so long ago, came sufficient wild rubber to supply all the world's needs. Moreover, Mother Nature cannot compete with scientific planters who have learned to breed and train the trees to give greater yields. The Indians of the Amazon could not hold their own from the moment the planters started establishing the correct intervals for cutting the tree and the best methods to use. Frank A. Seiberling says, "Yields of 1500 pounds per acre are in sight, although we had come to regard 400 to 500 pounds per acre as a satisfactory yield. It seems possible that yields may eventually be increased to 2000 pounds and over."

With a present surplus production of rubber causing to-day's low prices would it be profitable for British and Dutch planters to try for such increased yields? It does not seem so. Yet if the American manufacturers themselves owned sufficient plantations, such yields would mean a continuous supply of raw material at a price that would bring the rubber industry into its own, permitting its expansion into every field where this protean substance can possibly be used. It would also be the manufacturer's safeguard against the price fluctuations that have been his greatest peril. Despite popular ideas that England and Holland control the rubber market, the fact is that it is uncontrol-

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lable. The two countries have never been able to coöperate, as Britain learned when her 1925–1926 attempt to create an artificial price level by restriction of exports came to grief. If the governments and the owners of the huge plantations ever do get together, they still must reckon with the native growing rubber on his own tiny patch. He cannot be brought into any agreement.

Guayule and Synthetic Rubber

Planters also know to-day that any hoisting of Far East rubber to too high a price level would be merely opening the door for the product that can come from a laboratory anywhere in the world. The Intercontinental Rubber Company of New York has plantations of guayule, a true rubber-bearer, in Mexico, California, and Arizona. In this process the entire shrub is plowed out and ground up, the fiber becoming water-logged and going to the bottom while the rubber floats to the top and is drawn off. Growing wild in Mexico, it has been a source of rubber there for years. The plantation guayule has been used for auto tires with entirely satisfactory results. Right now the low price of the imports from Malay and Sumatra is all that prevents extensive guayule invasion of the commercial field.

Rubber from guayule grown in the United States is an established fact. Growing the intisy plant, another true rubber-bearer, here is a possibility. It is a native of subtropical Madagascar and once grew profusely there. It had almost been eradicated when the United States Department of Agriculture obtained a few of the last existing specimens. It is now experimenting with them in Florida.

Milkweed

The Department is also the leader in hybridizing experiments with goldenrod, milkweed, and other common plants. Thomas A. Edison, bowed under the weight of eighty-four years but valiantly launching into a new activity that may be the crowning triumph of his unparalleled career, is great newspaper copy. Nevertheless the fact remains that Mr. Edison is merely cutting himself in on something the Department of Agriculture chemists pioneered. The stock with which he is working was obtained from the Department's experimental station in Florida.

Synthetic rubber, even more than guayule, needs high prices on *Hevéa* tree output to bring it into active commercial being. To date every grade of synthetic rubber produced has been vastly inferior to the genuine. However, leading chemists of the American rubber industry tell me that experiments of the past have given them sufficient background to assure the production of a reasonably satisfactory artificial product if war, tariff, or Act of God ever makes such a step necessary. Germany produced some quantity during the World War. While greatly inferior to real soft rubber when used in tires, it served. The artificial hard rubber was a greater success. At present, desultory studies in producing rubber from crude petroleum, potato starch, natural gas, molasses, and sugar are proceeding, but it is safe to predict the product will not be even reasonably perfected until a demand exists. That demand will arise only if raw rubber prices skyrocket again.

To succeed in the market, synthetic rubber must be cheap, and it must be able to compete with the genuine crude point for point on a merit basis. A cheap substance lacking some of the qualities of the raw rubber already is in existence. It is the industry's own by-product — reclaimed rubber. Only where the maximum textile strengths are required is judicious use of scrap material barred. Intelligent use of reclaimed rubber began in 1904. By 1924 the industry was using one pound of scrap to every six or eight pounds of crude. By 1928 a pound of reclaimed was being used to every two pounds of crude. The 1928 ratio has since been maintained. Persistence of its use in the face of the low prices for crude that prevailed in 1930 and 1931 is proof of its peculiar values. Its employment simplifies the process of manufacturing many articles, and the resulting products are in no way inferior to those that would be achieved with pure crude alone.

Before we shall have a synthetic product that will be able to compete with reclaimed rubber in cheapness, Europe's war debts will be paid and Clarence Darrow's portrait will hang in Tennessee's State House.

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Family Budgets

Prize-Winners in The Forum's Budget Contest

In its August issue The Forum announced a prize contest the purpose of which was to discover the best-planned budgets for an American family of four (father, mother, daughter in her last year of college, high-school son) living in a city of 100,000 population. In order to provide a common basis on which to work, a theoretical family was created: the father received a salary of $7500 a year, had a $20,000 paid-up-in-full insurance policy, but, due to the market crash, had lost all his savings. Readjustment was therefore necessary. Forum readers were invited to submit their budgets for this imaginary group; and then to submit two others — one to be followed when the father's annual salary was raised to $10,000, and the third to fit the family when its income was reduced to $4000. Thus each paper was to include *three* budgets.

The judges were Rosamond C. Cook, Professor of Home Economics, University of Cincinnati; Arthur P. Kellogg, Managing Editor of *The Survey;* and E. C. Beams, Manager of the Personal Loan Department of the National City Bank, New York City. The three papers to which they awarded the prizes ($250, $150, and $100) are printed below.

First Prize

LILLIAN K. NOERTKER
Terrace Park, Ohio

Before making any plans, the essential thing is to determine the most important objectives. In making this budget, these objectives are financial independence for the parents, education for the children, and the providing of an environment that will promote health and cultural development for all members of the family. Financial independence of the parents is of primary importance not only because they will be happier but because otherwise they are creating future liabilities for their children. It is hardly necessary to point out that a person who has a good education is able to adapt himself to any environment and that his enjoyment of life is not dependent on material possessions.

It has been assumed that the man of the family is now about forty-five years old and that he should be in a position to retire when he is sixty. The fact that ordinary income insurance policies terminate at the age of sixty due to the increasing chances of disability after that age indicates that the risk of enforced retirement at that time is too great to be disregarded. With this in mind, the following budgets have been made to cover a period of fifteen years. At the end of that time, the man will be in a position to retire with some degree of comfort and satisfaction if he so desires or it is necessary.

BUDGET FOR $7500 INCOME

Payment on House	$874.65
Taxes, Insurance, Maintenance on House	255.00
Heating	120.00
Savings	1244.64
Income Insurance ($200.00 per month)	86.26
College	800.00
Food & Operating Expenses	900.00
Help	200.00
Furnishings	100.00
Lunches	320.00
Clothes	700.00
Health	80.00
Beneficence & Gifts	170.00
Organizations	200.00
Recreation & Education	170.00
Vacation & Travel	250.00
Car & Other Transportation	840.00
Income & Personal Tax	50.00
Miscellaneous	139.45
Total	$7500.00

I think it would be better to buy a small house, preferably in one of the suburbs of the city. This house could be financed with a loan on the paid-up insurance and this would be a sound proposition inasmuch as the value of the house would cover the loan and so not lessen the protection for the family. The $874.65 per year, which includes interest at 6% on the borrowed money, would pay for an $8500 house in fifteen years without sacrificing

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too many other things. The heating of a house of this size and the taxes (1½%), insurance (½%), and maintenance (1%) on it are naturally less than those on a more expensive house and are feasible for the amount available in the retirement budget given later on.

The savings per year, $1244.64, invested 50% in bonds, 25% in common stocks, and 25% in a savings account (this to allow the advantageous purchases of stocks and bonds) to average a return of 5% will in fifteen years amount to $26,882 and will at 5% net $1344.10 per year. At the age of sixty, then, the man in question has the choice of continuing in his position or of retiring. If he desires or finds it necessary to retire he may, instead of trying to live on the income of his money, invest the accumulated fund in an annuity which will pay him $200 per month for life. This procedure would be justified inasmuch as the children would then be able to take care of themselves, and his wife in the event of his death would have the $20,000 insurance, the loan on which has been repaid. If he retires on an annuity, he will own an $8500 house in which to live and the $2400 income might be budgeted as follows:

RETIREMENT BUDGET FOR $2400 INCOME

Taxes, Insurance, Maintenance on House	$255.00
Heating	120.00
Food & Operating Expenses	800.00
Furnishings	46.00
Clothes	240.00
Health	80.00
Beneficence & Gifts	80.00
Organizations	150.00
Recreation & Education	100.00
Vacation & Travel	120.00
Car & Other Transportation	360.00
Miscellaneous	49.00
Total	$2400.00

An income of $200 per month has been insured at a cost of $86.26 per year. This amount would not allow him to carry out his original plans if he should lose his income over an extended period, but it would allow him to live comfortably.

Some choice in colleges would be possible with an allowance of $800 per year, which sum does not include clothes for the daughter.

The allowances for food, operating expenses, help, and clothes require little explanation. That for furnishings is purposely quite small and is intended as a maintenance rather than as a refurnishing fund.

The $320 for lunches is apportioned $250 for the father, which averages 80¢ per day 310 days per year; and $70 for the son, which averages 35¢ per day 200 school days.

Only routine health expenses are expected to be taken care of by the $80 per year allowance. Serious illness and large doctor and hospital expenses would have to be paid for out of the pleasure funds or the reserve fund for the purchase of a new car.

Since a golf club would provide healthful exercise and amusement for the whole family, $100 or $125 spent for an inexpensive country club membership would be a worth-while investment. This would leave $75 or more per year which could be apportioned among other organizations. Expenditures on shows, concerts, lectures, *etc.* would amount to $10 per month and this would leave $50 of the $170 budgeted for recreation and education to be used for books, magazines, etc.

Four people could take only a very inexpensive vacation with $250, but with the car to use for week-end outings, and the golf club, they might decide to spend nothing for a vacation one year and thus accumulate more for a vacation the next year.

The amount budgeted for a car and other transportation is equivalent to $70 per month. This would allow the ownership and operation of one medium-priced or two low-priced cars. This amount provides for the replacement of the cars in four years and for adequate liability insurance, taxes, *etc.*

The miscellaneous fund, which is approximately 2% of the income, does not cover any specific items but is an allowance for contingencies.

THE FOLLOWING budget has been prepared for an income of $10,000 per year.

BUDGET FOR $10,000 INCOME

Payment on House	$1029.00
Taxes, Insurance, Maintenance on House	300.00
Heating	120.00
Savings	1555.77
Income Insurance ($250.00 per month)	107.82
College	900.00
Food & Operating Expenses	1000.00
Help	200.00
Furnishings & Collections	400.00
Lunches	320.00
Clothes	900.00
Health	100.00

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Beneficence & Gifts	400.00
Organizations	300.00
Recreation & Education	300.00
Vacation & Travel	900.00
Car & Other Transportation	850.00
Income & Personal Tax	100.00
Miscellaneous	217.41
Total	$10,000.00

A house costing more than $10,000 has not been considered even with a $10,000 income, not only because pleasures such as travels, shows, concerts, and vacations would have to be given up to pay for the house but because the amount of savings for the entire period of fifteen years would have to be increased in order to provide an income large enough to maintain the more expensive house after retirement. The savings budgeted, amounting in fifteen years to $33,602, would allow a man to retire on an annuity of $250 per month and continue to live well in a $10,000 house. The following budget for $3000 per year shows how this might be done.

RETIREMENT BUDGET FOR $3000 INCOME

Taxes, Insurance, Maintenance on House	$300.00
Heating	120.00
Food & Operating Expenses	850.00
Help	200.00
Furnishings	76.00
Clothes	240.00
Health	100.00
Beneficence & Gifts	120.00
Organizations	150.00
Recreation & Education	120.00
Vacation & Travel	300.00
Car & Other Transportation	360.00
Miscellaneous	64.00
Total	$3000.00

With $2500 more per year, it seems reasonable to increase the food and operating expense account, thus making it possible to entertain a little more freely. The daughter in college might have another $100 per year for her personal use. With an income of $7500 only enough was allowed to maintain furnishings already owned, but now $300 is added so that the family may occasionally buy a desired painting, an etching, or perhaps an interesting bronze piece. A man with a larger income should contribute more toward helping less fortunate people, so $230 is added for charity. The amount for organizations has also been increased, but the largest single amount has been added to the vacation and travel allowance. With $900 per year, the family could accumulate enough to take some interesting trips abroad.

A FORTY-FIVE-YEAR-OLD man on a $4000 income with two children to educate and his own future to provide for has a real problem and, in order to solve it satisfactorily, some bargain-hunting and dollar-stretching are necessary.

BUDGET FOR $4000 INCOME

Payment on House	$483.63
Taxes, Insurance, Maintenance on House	141.00
Heating	84.00
Savings	622.27
Income Insurance ($100.00 per month)	43.13
College	330.00
Food & Operating Expenses	720.00
Furnishings	36.00
Lunches	180.00
Clothes	450.00
Health	80.00
Beneficence & Gifts	80.00
Organizations	130.00
Recreation & Education	80.00
Vacation & Travel	100.00
Car & Other Transportation	360.00
Miscellaneous	79.97
Total	$4000.00

Perhaps the hardest problem will be to find satisfactory living quarters for the sum available. This amount would permit buying a $4700 house or paying $35.25 per month rent. Local transportation and housing conditions govern the choice, however. The best solution seems to be the purchase of a small house on the outskirts of the city on a piece of ground that has garden and landscaping possibilities.

Savings of $622.27 per year will at 5% amount to $13,440 in fifteen years. This would purchase an annuity of $100 per month on which the man could at least be independent.

Each member of the family is expected to do his share in making the most of what they have, and the daughter's share will consist in changing to a less expensive school, probably a state or municipal university. This change will not be so much in actual educational value as in the distribution of the cost of the education to the taxpayers rather than its entire cost being borne by the individual.

If carefully planned and purchased, attractive meals may be served and a reasonable amount of simple entertaining be done on $60 per month. The family, of course, would have to take care of the house and grounds. The father is allowed $10 per month for lunches, an average of 36¢ per day for 310 days; and the boy is allowed $5 per month, an average of 25¢ per day for 200 school days.

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The family will be able to dress neatly and with some degree of style on $450 if purchases are carefully planned.

Only a small amount is allowed for routine health expenditures, but it is definitely planned that in case of serious illness the funds reserved for recreation, vacation, and the replacing of the car will be used.

An occasional show, concert, lecture and a few books and magazines are provided for with $80. Membership in an inexpensive country club has been retained (dues of $100 per year or less) because the whole family can receive more dividends in health and pleasure from money spent on this than on other forms of recreation.

The amount budgeted for vacation should allow some time at an inexpensive camp for the boy and the remainder of the fund should be used to the best advantage for other members of the family.

In the cases which have been considered, there will be a year or two after the daughter graduates before the son will be ready for college, and the fund allowed for college for that time may serve as a sort of safety valve. Since it is expected that after graduation each child will support himself, it may be necessary to use this fund for a year or two to provide some vocational training, but after the son graduates from college this fund may be used to supplement other parts of the budget as needed.

A budget represents a carefully considered compromise of hundreds of desires worked out by the family as a whole. Obviously high pressure salesmanship and "the Joneses" can play havoc with it. The objective of all budgets is to fulfill the most cherished desires, and happiness to a large extent depends on this. Happiness also depends on the state of mind; if, then, one temper his desires to his income, the actual amount of income will be of little consequence.

Second Prize

LARA P. GOOD
San Diego, California

THE SUCCESSFUL business is the one whose expenditures are less than its receipts. A business must be run for profits that can be kept. There must be money left for growth, emergency demands, and future dividends. No business would remain successful long unless the owners of that business keep accurate accounts and know exactly where they stand, periodically at least, if not daily. When receipts fall off, then the overhead must be reduced accordingly.

The financial success of a home or family is determined upon exactly the same basis, always keeping expenditures below income with a margin left in order to have something to keep and to meet any emergency that might arise.

The average man faces four hazards: disability, premature death, unemployment, and old age. Probably none of these hazards is within his province to foresee or prevent, yet provision may be made to prevent financial stress arising as a result of any one of these hazards, if a man will but begin in time; the first two through means of disability and life insurance, and the last two through the means of life income insurance and savings accounts.

Budgets have been sometimes described as a method of worrying about your expenses beforehand rather than afterward. However, thousands of families would be better off to-day if they had given a bit of thought to trial balancing their books before creating an indebtedness.

By means of a budget, a family can decide for itself those things that are necessary to its existence and happiness, and after planning expenditures will be made more carefully. No other question is so important to the happiness of a home as the mutual understanding by all members of a family regarding the distribution of the family's income before expenditure. Without a budget (that is, a planned expenditure on paper) there will be slipshod, guesswork methods, with certainty of waste and extravagance and no records on which to base future expenses or make future plans.

Budgets will differ according to the state of residence. In outlining the following budget, the assumption is that the family resides in Southern California. The same budget that would apply to a family residing in the same size city in the East or North would not be exactly suitable in the South or Southwest, where winters are mild, requiring less to be expended for heavy clothing, fuel, maintenance, and operating expenses. Modifications for some items, therefore, need to be made.

This family is not in a very strong financial position. Nothing so far has been accumulated, except the cash or paid-up values of the $20,000

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life insurance policy. The family is assumed to be average American in that it has a car and a radio. If anything happened to the income producer through either disability or unemployment, the family would probably be on financial rocks within ninety days.

The cause of our present depression is unquestionably the normal reaction following the endeavor of millions of people to live beyond their income. Under this budget it is planned that the entire family will have the necessary comforts of life and many of its luxuries; the children will be well and sensibly educated and the father and mother will reach retirement age with a competency. Little if any installment buying is permitted. During a man's productive years, he should accumulate sufficient reserve to tide himself and his family over the non-productive period.

To follow this budget, this family may find it as healthful and recreational (and a lot less expensive) to do the housework, mow the lawn, or weed the garden as to burn up gasoline and wear out the automobile on the highway for unnecessary travel, or expend physical energy over a bridge game or a golf match.

INCOME	*$7500*	*$10,000*	*$4000*
Food	750	850	600
Clothing	900	1000	600
Health	300	300	240
Rent	900	900	600
Maintenance and Operating	1200	1500	640
Advancement	600	750	240
Recreation and Amusement	450	600	180
College Expenses for Daughter	900	900	600*
Savings and Investment			
a. Life Insurance	900	900	900
b. Other Savings and Investment	600	2300	
Surplus for Emergencies	(Current Savings from All Items)		

BUDGET FOR $7500 INCOME

Food (10%) Includes food for all members of family at home (daughter absent nine months), lunches for father and son, and all meals out. Allows for certain amount of entertainment in nature of luncheons and dinners at home and out.

Clothing (12%) Includes all wearing apparel or materials purchased with which to make clothing, repairing, cleaning and pressing, distributed annually as follows: Husband, $175–$200 (allows two suits including shoes and hats annually, overcoat every three years, dress suit every five years, and miscellaneous articles). Son, $125–$150 (similar items less expensive but more durable allowing for outgrowth of clothes). For husband and son purchase ready-to-wear, if can be fitted. Wife and daughter, $550–$650; among many miscellaneous items, this sum allows for occasional ready-to-wear, semi-expensive coats, suits, gowns, *etc.*, but most of the dresses, alterations, repairs, *etc.* are to be made by the wife or a seamstress, unless the purchases were made in bargain sales.

Health (4%) All drugs and drug sundries for hygienic purposes and all doctor, dentist fees, and hospital bills.

Rent (12%) Furnished or partly furnished three bedroom house in suburb with small flower and vegetable garden would provide a more comfortable home for this family.

Maintenance–Operating (16%) Includes telephone, newspapers, carfare, fuel, light, water, ice or electric refrigeration, laundry, and laundry supplies, expendable house supplies, wages for domestic help once or twice weekly, insurance on furniture and clothing, insurance and operating expenses of an automobile (price range not exceeding ($1500), including depreciation, necessary travel only.

Advancement (8%) Expenditures for books, magazines, music, church, charity, gifts, educational courses, *etc.*

Recreation — Amusement (6%) Includes tickets for theater, athletic functions, concerts, clubs, traveling expenses, automobile expenses on pleasure trips, vacations, *etc.*

College Expenses of Daughter (12%) Ordinarily money should have been accumulated for this item but since it has not, it must be paid for from current income. The sum includes tuition, board, room, and everything except clothing. This will not enable the girl to go to a private boarding school or have a grand time, but she is in college for an education. $100 per month for nine months should pay all her necessary expenses at a state university.

Savings — Investment (20%)

A. Life Insurance. Assuming the man's insurability, he should add $30,000 additional ordinary life, including $300 per month disability income; the annual premium deposit would be approximately $900.

B. Other Savings and Investment. The

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father should have on hand a cash savings account of $1000. All excess of this amount should be invested in a series of single-premium life or twenty-year endowment contracts with annuity option to himself and wife at retirement age (this will yield approximately 4.75% compounded on investment, plus immediate increase in amount of estate so invested in event of death before maturity).

The fact that he has lost everything in the recent market crash shows that this man is a speculator not qualified to make his own investments, so he should let the experienced insurance company invest his money for him. Also until he has guaranteed the future independence of his family and himself, he is still in the life-insurance phase of his investment program.

Surplus for Emergencies. Care and economy must be exercised in all expenditures and savings effected wherever possible. Because the budget may allow $75 per month for rent is no reason for paying that amount, if a suitable home can be secured for less. A separate surplus account should be created through savings in all expenditures from month to month and applied as needed. (For example, the expenditures under health might not exceed $50 in one year, yet an unexpected illness might run it to $1000 any time. Perhaps the amount saved in maintenance and operating can be used to purchase a new chair, radio, refrigerator, or automobile, if one is desired; or a saving in clothing or rent for a time may be used for an outing for the family.) Excess surplus accumulated can be invested as above outlined for excess savings.

Budget for $10,000 Income

The increase in salary should make no appreciable difference in the amount of expenditures of the family. A little increase in the gross expenditures of every item on the budget might be desirable and in keeping with the father's position, yet the percentage of expenditures for each item to the increased income should be decreased.

Since the family does not know how long this increase in income will continue, most of this increase should be accumulated as savings toward providing a retirement fund until a sizable estate has been created.

The items under clothing, maintenance, operating, advancement, and recreation have been increased appreciably to permit the family to enjoy certain advantages not possible under previous income.

College expenses for the daughter have not been changed, although the daughter would get her share of the increase in expenditures for clothing, advancement, and recreation — perhaps an excursion trip during her vacation. The investment of the surplus savings should be followed out, as outlined above, in single-premium life or twenty-year endowment insurance contracts.

Budget for $4000 Income

A budget, under circumstances of this kind, would be widely different from that of a family which never had had an income of more than $4000. Its standard of living has been raised. It has become accustomed to a great many things that to a normal family of $4000 income would be luxuries and yet, after having enjoyed them for a period of time, these items have become almost necessities. Unquestionably, they would feel decrease in income was only temporary. However, the decreased salary will necessitate immediate, complete revision of practically every item in the family budget.

They must move to a neighborhood of lower rents, of good, comfortable homes, though less pretentious. Much less will be available for clothing and more care exercised to lengthen serviceability and appearance, which will become more important than latest styles. Under the item of food, little waste can be allowed; cheaper cuts of meat must be substituted and more care exercised in marketing. Operating expenses will have to stand the greatest reduction. Most of the laundry must be done at home and help employed only in case of illness. It may be cheaper for members of the family to use the street car for necessary travel and dispense with the use of the automobile for pleasure. Less money can be spent for recreation and amusement.

It is believed the daughter should be permitted to complete college, particularly if she is preparing herself to earn her own livelihood, but not if she is taking only a cultural course. Since much less money can be spent for her education, it may necessitate her completing the course at a less expensive college. The

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amount to be expended for her education, $600 (marked with an asterisk), is not to come out of current income, but is to be borrowed against the cash value of the life insurance policies.

Under savings and investment, the item of Other Savings will probably have to be eliminated for a time, but I do not believe that the amount of life insurance indicated in the $7500 budget should be reduced, if this insurance is already in force. Steamships do not throw overboard their life boats when the ship is sinking; neither should a man discontinue his life insurance while the need exists. (If the $30,000 additional insurance is not in force at the time the income is decreased, the amount of additional insurance should probably be limited to $20,000 or $25,000, and $5000 or $10,000 of this applied for on a ten-year term basis.)

Third Prize

MARY ANNE KIRKPATRICK
Evanston, Illinois

FITTING A financial system to a family is as individual a process as fitting a shoe to a foot. Therefore a few intimate details, supplementary to the bare facts already in your possession, may give you a better understanding as to how and why we spend our money. Perhaps that little word "our" is the key to the whole situation!

My husband and I are in our early forties, having married soon after college days. As a family we have excellent health, enjoy good food, pleasant surroundings, and the amusements and advantages offered in a small city. In short, we have "the zest for living," and, as my husband's business prospects are good, we feel that we can afford to gratify it reasonably.

BUDGET FOR $7500 INCOME

Savings		
Insurance	$500	
Cash	250	$750.00
Shelter		1080.00
Food		900.00
Operating Expenses		
Gas & Electricity	$175	
Telephone Service	175	
Fire Insurance	10	360.00
Furniture, Equipment		100.00
Clothing		
Father	$300	
Mother	325	
Daughter	325	
Son	150	1100.00
Personal Allowances		
Father	$325	
Mother	$175	
Daughter	250	
Son	120	$870.00
Daughter's College Expenses		
Board	$400	
Tuition	400	
Books and Fees	50	
Traveling	75	925.00
Contributions		200.00
Health		175.00
Country Club		
Dues	$55	
Incidentals	45	100.00
Automobile Operating, including license and insurance		240.00
Travel and Vacation		300.00
Incidentals (Books and Magazines, Amusements, Gifts, Drugs, *etc.*)		200.00
Contingency Fund		200.00
Total		$7500.00

We own a moderate-priced car, which is not only a convenience and a pleasure, but also the cheapest mode of travel for a family — and we *do* enjoy an occasional trip to "the big city" or to our daughter's college-town, as well as an inexpensive summer vacation for the whole family. We belong to a country club which, however, is not expensive.

We enjoy reading and like to be well-informed, so we take half-a-dozen assorted magazines, buy occasional books which are worth keeping, and get the others from the public or renting library. We try to take advantage of the few fine concerts and good plays that come to our city — and the movies are with us always! We are members of a church and contributors to its support, as well as to local charities and our college funds. The amounts are not large, but they are regular, and if our periodic visits to the dentist and occasional calls from the doctor have not exhausted our health allotment, we give the unspent balance as a thank-offering to some pet cause or needy individual at the year's close. If, however, there should be a deficit, there is the contingency fund!

This reserve affords a margin of safety for any department, though we never resort to it except in case of actual necessity — untouched, it forms an admirable sinking fund for the purchase of a new automobile. Of course every family has an occasional emergency too great for any ordinary contingency fund to meet. In that case, we do what everyone else does — we try to pay our obligations from current income. Here our budget is a great aid to intelligent

(*Continued on page XXXI*)

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"BUCHMANISM"

Early Christianity Revived

by **ERNEST W. MANDEVILLE**

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, a Pennsylvania Dutchman named Frank Buchman was the pastor of a humble Lutheran church. Such posts were no more prosperous then than they are to-day, and the Rev. Buchman, a man of ingenious ideas and fertile imagination, was one to whom prosperity meant much.

To-day Frank Buchman and his evangelical religious movement, the "First Century Christian Fellowship," are life to some and anathema to others. "As long as I am President of the University," Dr. John Grier Hibben has declared, "(and I think I speak for the whole administration) there is no place for 'Buchmanism' in Princeton." And a prominent bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church has said that "Frank Buchman uses methods of conversion that were dropped from the Methodist Church forty years ago as being too dangerous."

As a matter of fact, Buchman's methods of conversion are little more than modern, up-to-date variants of that old-time religion; the chief difference is that the objects of conversion are the bored, better classes. He himself says: "The newest thing we have is the principle of the New Testament working as a living principle." But Society, where Buchmanism has its strongest foothold, is divided in opinion as to its worth, some claiming that it should be stamped out or ridiculed to oblivion while the faithful maintain that it is good and pure and is merely suffering the traditional opposition directed against any effective reform in this world.

The truth is that this rapidly growing world-wide movement has done much that is good, as well as a great deal that is harmful to spiritual, mental, and physical health. It has introduced thousands of frivolous adults and thoughtless adolescents to a religion of transforming power. But by its intolerance, its overemotionalism, its morbid and hypersensitive interest in sex and sexual problems, it has worked many abuses in the name of religion.

But good or bad, in the short space of twelve years Buchmanism has become a religious movement of the first importance — claimed by several competent observers to have more driving power than any cult or organization in Protestantism to-day. It has permeated all denominations, and all the strata of the upper classes. Park Avenue dowagers, athletic and social leaders in the older Eastern universities, Junior Leaguers the country over have become its enthusiastic converts. Merchant princes and their heirs give it financial support. Bishops and clergy of the wealthy churches, regardless of denomination, admit to being "twice born" through Buchmanism and carry the message and method back to their parishes. In England, under the title of the "Oxford Groups," its growth has been remarkable. Holland, Germany, South Africa, Greece, Siam, China, India, Australia — all have their earnest workers seeking converts to Buchmanism among the wealthy and powerful. And they get them — from Queen Marie of Roumania to ex-King George of Greece.

And yet the American public knows almost nothing of this conversion technique which an obscure Pennsylvanian has made so powerful both here and abroad.

THE FREUD OF RELIGION

IN HAROLD BEGBIE'S *More Twice-Born Men*, each chapter of which gives the story of the conversion of a Buchmanite, an Oxford convert describes Frank Buchman as "a youngish-looking man of middle life, tall,

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upright, stoutish, clean-shaven, spectacled, with that mien of scrupulous, shampooed, and almost medical cleanness or freshness which is so characteristic of the hygienic American." Another and less sympathetic analyst has summed him up as "a horrid, bumptious American."

His history is brief, his ascent to grandeur swift. Now fifty-three, he was born in a Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, home where broken English was spoken. (To-day his command of language is one of his most persuasive tools.) His family tree shows large groups of farmers, deacons, plain, simple folk all down the line.

Buchman's mother, an earnest Lutheran church worker, encouraged him to go from Muhlenburg College in Allentown, where he spent his boyhood, to the conservative Mt. Airy Theological Seminary and into the ministry. In theology Buchman was, and apparently still is, a fundamentalist. During his first and only pastorate at the Church of the Good Shepherd, in Overbrook, Pennsylvania, he visited Europe and came under the influence of Pastor von Bodelschwingh and other German Lutheran missionary leaders.

Later came the greatest moment in his life, his own miraculous conversion. In 1908, during a visit to England, he entered a barren little chapel in Cumberland and, while a woman was preaching on "the Cross," experienced "a vibrant feeling up and down the spine," as if some great store of life had suddenly been emptied into him. Frank Buchman's hour had come; from then on he knew his mission. When two Anglican bishops commissioned him to call upon their wayward sons at Cambridge, he entered a field of work — collegiate soul-saving — in which he was to be extremely successful, even though his efforts were thwarted and he was, ultimately, expelled from the Princeton campus.

At Cambridge, where the students dubbed him "Old Moral Uplift," his career was something less than happy. The young men were wont to pull his leg by making the most startling confessions; which would have been fine (as shall be seen, confessions are Buchman's chief stock in trade) if they hadn't been fictitious. At any rate, Buchman moved on to Oxford, "the theological-philosophical hothouse," where, with the support of the eminent Begbie's books, his movement found a solid footing. Ever since then he has constantly traveled back and forth across the oceans, visiting the universities and the royal courts; most of his time is now spent abroad, though his influence still dominates the cult in America.

Buchman doesn't bother much about money; he goes on the theory that the Lord will provide, and he has never been in want. His clothes are of the most expensive cut, his New York apartment was in a pretentious mansion, said to be owned by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. "See how good the Lord has been to me," he remarks with a sweep of his hand toward the handsome period furniture and luxurious drapes. He has never married; indeed, his youthful friends and neighbors cannot recall that he ever took any interest in girls. When A. J. Russell asked why he had remained a bachelor, Buchman "beamed through and around his spectacles and said, 'Just because I have never been guided to marry.' So completely is he at the bidding of the Inner Voice." . . .

That is Frank Buchman. Buchmanism, however, is perhaps not so easily described. Its essential idea is that of reaching converts personally, obtaining a confession, and then making the convert a worker. Through high-pressure emotionalism — really camp-meeting evangelism — the confession is secured. Then, while off balance, the sinner is pushed into this new phase of Christianity by handsome, convincing salesmen-disciples. And now, having been "twice-born," the convert enters a new life, a holy life; some say an unfortunately holier-than-thou life. He becomes a soul surgeon, spreading Buchmanism through the kind permission of the copyright owner, who himself owes a considerable part of his success to the efforts of Martin Luther. The voice is Luther's, the method John Wesley's — but the deft hands which guide the movement are those of Frank Buchman. And one of its most famous facets, the "house party" approach, is also Buchman's.

A Buchman house party is a carefully planned intimate gathering of young men and women, selected for their charm and influence, staged with the Belasco touch for atmosphere and detail. The setting is usually some luxurious mansion borrowed for the occasion from one of the faithful. For three or four days these young people enjoy themselves to

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the full: they live well, they have a good time. Then several old hands, experienced workers, begin their campaign by quiet, confidential talks with the unsuspecting guests.

Now comes into play the Buchman technique of the five C's — "Confidence, Confession, Conviction, Conversion, and Continuance." The worker wins the confidence of the prospect by confessing a detail in his own sinful past. He then follows Buchman's instructions and creates "a tension to make the other person feel uneasy," which usually evokes a similar confession from the much-impressed victim. Seizing the opportunity of bearing down upon the weakness of the admittedly sinful penitent, the charmingly friendly but nevertheless single-purposed apostle enters upon a fervent appeal for the better life.

If the conversion is accomplished, the neophyte is introduced into the Buchman method of continuance — bringing the light to others. Buchman literature sums up the technique in the words "Woo, Win, Warn." The vapid, vacuous lives of the bored rich naturally provide fruitful soil for the tillers. By the last half of the house party period, the emotions of the overwhelmed guests have been well stirred. The spirit of comradeship has permeated the group.

Then comes the climax. Frank or Sam or Ray (everyone is now called by his or her Christian name), whoever is the designated leader, gathers his sheep for an evening of spiritual shearing before the open hearth. The joy and happiness of the truly Christian life — à la Buchman — is eloquently related by the ringmaster. His lieutenants follow in scheduled order, though it all seems spontaneous enough, with their well-rehearsed and dramatic stories of life before and after conversion. Evangelical fervor, with a high-hat polish, whips up an emotional tension. It is not long before the results of the quiet heart-to-heart talks of the workers begin to show forth in really spontaneous public confessions and vows of allegiance to Frank or Sam or Ray and his Christ-like work. One sheep follows another into the fold. Thus Buchmanism works — and why shouldn't it?

If any hard-shelled or timid prospect holds out and fails to surrender in this last evening's orgy, workers are dispatched in a continual stream to his room, where sleep has to give way to heated follow-up pleas to "come over with us and be happy!" It takes unusual resisting powers to avoid being worn down by the pressure. Furthermore, it is all done with such grace and good will that results run high. It is evident, too, that many converts are swayed by the fact that their new fellowship means several steps up on the social ladder. Elmer Davis tells of one convert who boasted that "Buchmanism enabled him not only to find God, but to meet the Queen of Roumania and make a better impression on customers."

Of course, it is not all plain sailing for the workers; skeptics are common. Upon returning from a Buchman house party one young girl said: "I was so emotionally exhausted and disgusted after it was all over that I actually hated myself." Another describes a house party group meeting this way: "Then the lights were lowered and the leader said, 'We are all swine. But if we get together and share our weakness and sinfulness it will be easier for us. This is the clearing house of experiences. Everyone has something on his mind. Let us confess.' There followed a story of his own intimate experiences. Then, kneeling in prayer, he announced, 'God has spoken to me. There will be a miracle this afternoon. You (pointing to me) will come clean and be saved.' This proved to be a mistake, as I left within twenty minutes."

Guidance from God

The house party is not the only method of conversion employed. Every disciple, once won over, becomes a soul surgeon whose Godly duty it is to "save you." He is given a new rule of life. He rises an hour earlier than heretofore in order to get "into tune with the infinite," after which the Holy Spirit tells him directly his program for the day. "At that hour," reads one of the handbooks, "there comes to us the mysterious 'leadings' of God's spirit which, when tested and proved and followed, bring to pass moral miracles in individual lives. . . . If in the early morning our spirits are attuned to the Divine Spirit, not only shall we receive 'leadings' at that time, but all through the day we shall be sensitive to every summons to service.' When a Yale student expressed surprise at Buchman's frequent statement, "I know I'm right because God told me so," Buchman answered that "God is continually talking to me.

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Why, He's given me a message for you right now. In fact four of them. The first two are — 'You will come clean and get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to pray.' The other two are awfully interesting, but I won't tell them to you now."

This Buchman practice of "guidance" has led to many amusing as well as annoying "leadings," especially in the hand of the younger and more erratic disciples. A Harvard professor told me of the biennial "orders" that all his Buchmanite friends get to visit him for one purpose or another on the eve of the Harvard-Yale football game. It makes a crowded household, but then the boys are only doing their godly duty. One woman testified thusly to the value of "guidance." "I was told," she said, "to take a Fifth Avenue bus and then at a certain street word came to me to get off. Before my eyes was a display of furs at great reductions. I bought a thousand-dollar coat for $300." And then there is the example of unconscious guidance as related in a pamphlet printed by the Oxford Group: "A young man of once bibulous habits and no little originality was recently telling how, after giving his life to Christ, he was twice 'caught out by his old pals' when trying to put away a quiet pint of beer. 'I could feel God breathing down the back of my neck,' he said."

It is obvious that, since he receives his orders direct from God, the Buchmanite can brook no interference when he comes to your home or office. You must drop everything to give ear. He may order your secretary from the room. Then he tells you of his heavenly order and of God's wish for you. He either practices the method of the five C's or he makes a direct attack by accusing you of some sin, basing his charges on gossip that he has heard or, failing that, picking some likely and common sin.

"When he is certain that the need for confession exists, the soul surgeon," according to the Buchman manual, "must be lovingly relentless in insisting that confession be made, when and where it is needed. . . . In New York City last winter a university student leader came to talk with Mr. Buchman about entering the Christian ministry. . . . Mr. Buchman answered his questions on the ministry to the best of his ability, but still the man seemed unsatisfied. They had finished dinner with little accomplished, and Mr. Buchman then invited him to his room for further conversation. In time the student opened up a little more and said, 'I'll tell you why I couldn't enter the ministry, I want my own way too much.' 'Isn't there anything else?' Mr. Buchman asked, and the student said: 'No.' Then Mr. Buchman was 'told what he should speak,' as suspicion became conviction; and leaning forward he said earnestly to the man: 'Isn't your trouble . . .?' The barrier of pride crumbled away, the man burst into tears, and a new beginning was made on a sure foundation which transformed the young man into a genuine personal worker and decided his problems concerning the ministry."

What the twice-born consider sexual irregularities constitute "ninety per cent of the ultimate sin," according to early Buchman teaching. However, since general publicity was first given to the Buchman methods five years ago by the present writer, such widespread criticism has resulted that a more moderate policy has been adopted. But the exaggerated emphasis on the problems of sex continues, though minimized in their public utterances. The main activities of the workers have also been shifted of late years from the conversion of undergraduates to the salvation of the younger married set. "Give up your cocktail shaker and loose living" has been substituted for the former demand, "Get down on your knees and pray God to forgive you for your secret sin."

But they still get down on their knees when occasion demands it. "Take nothing for granted," is another Buchman rule. "No matter how respectable a man may seem, be he clergyman or vestryman or Y.M.C.A. secretary, he may still stand in need of your moral surgery. . . . To get his confidence . . . the only way is to take my place as a fellow sinner. He has to realize that I am seeking his truest well-being, and will not be satisfied till I get to the facts. The interview, of course, must be private, and often the wrestle comes after we get down on our knees together. I have done what I have never done in my life before, and what is foreign to my instincts — put my arms around a man's shoulder as we prayed together on our knees, until the guilt was confessed and the burden lifted. The actual touch sometimes makes all the difference."

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The Four Hundred Get Religion

The third of the Buchman conversion methods is that of the intensive ten-day evangelization of an entire community by squads of full-time workers who are maintained at strategic points for these revivals. These disciples serve without salary, following Buchman's belief as to the material benevolence of the Lord, but they somehow manage to stop at the most expensive hotels and — at Asheville, North Carolina, and Louisville, Kentucky, scenes of recent campaigns — to give elaborate country club parties and be dined by society leaders; all this at a crucial period of the depression in these cities.

In Asheville 77 Buchmanites stormed the town for a ten-day session. The Asheville *Citizen-Times* noted that "Those seen in attendance regularly included some of the city's best-known young social leaders, many of whom had never been associated with any particular religious work. . . . A prominent society woman whose life had been confessedly governed by the opinion of the particular circle she went with — chameleon life, she called it — made a decision for Christ and began to be honest with her friends and to witness to them." "Witness groups" were formed where "people who had made their decisions in Asheville registered those decisions publicly."

All of which sounds like good work well done. But most of the clergy in both Louisville and Asheville were frank in criticizing the missions. Their comments include these statements: "Too emotional! I am unalterably opposed to public confessions of infidelity by married women who are compelled to live on in communities after 'the Groups' have left town." "Meetings conducted with the efficiency of Big Business, yet with the evident desire to emphasize the spontaneity of the affairs, though they were well-planned and bossed." "The leaders are shrewd business men and will not lose any way the cat jumps. Professing Christ, they deny Him more than weak sinners."

In New York City a Buchman dinner was given some time ago at the swank Hotel Plaza to over a thousand people. A weekly radio broadcast has been maintained for several months. The leadership in New York centers around the Rev. Samuel M. Shoemaker, Jr., Rector of Calvary Episcopal Church (known as the Rescue Mission of the Four Hundred).

And now for the good influence of Buchmanism. The movement does deserve credit for introducing many men and women to religion. Some of the ablest young ministers in the churches to-day had their first religious experience through Buchmanism. They have now outgrown the follies of the movement, but the church would not have had them but for Frank Buchman. Some laymen, too, troubled by a sense of inferiority or shattered in spirit, have been helped and given a new power in life. The sincerity and well-meaning of some of the leaders is unquestionable. Furthermore, it is only fair to add that the influx of many sane and solid men into the movement in England has given it a much better balance and catholicity there. It has been assimilated into the established church and has added a liveliness where it was needed. The curious phenomenon is that so many fine and presumably intelligent young men and women in America have become zealous converts to Buchmanism as it exists here, and have devoted their lives to its perverted religious mania.

The menace of Buchmanism in America lies in its use of emotion to force itself on its wrought-up victim. Lacking adequate training for the treatment of neurotic cases, the erratic and irresponsible disciples of Buchman claim, with sublime effrontery, to solve the ills of pathological patients who quite evidently need the most skillful psychiatric care.

Buchmanism violates the private and personal sanctity of a man's religion. Its emphasis on a sense of sin is poison to personality and leads to unhealthy and abnormal results. It panders to the ego, and thus makes for selfish living. The individual's plans are formed, and then God's guidance is involved. It teaches an individualistic Christ and is certainly not true to characteristic first century Christianity. The smug attitude of many of its leaders, their cocksure intolerance of the opinions of others, their unethical practices, their lack of truthfulness, their fanaticism, and their absurd assumption of infallible spiritual authority make Buchmanism one of the most objectionable cults that has ever come into the field of religion.

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Samuel Seabury

Presidential Possibilities—IV

***by* WALTER CHAMBERS**

THE DEMOCRATIC party needs a battle-cry. A battle-cry and a colorful leader, with a personality and a record of achievement that will inspire universal confidence. The depression, with its 6,000,000 unemployed, nation-wide opposition to the Hawley-Smoot tariff, anti-prohibition sentiment in the doubtful states of the East and the Middle West, and the failure of President Hoover's farm relief — all these are vulnerable points of attack for the Democrats in 1932, but none of them are new; in none is there the germ of a battle-cry which will make of the campaign a Democratic crusade for righteousness.

Nothing is more marked at the present time than the lack of faith of the American people in their government. The current exposure of corruption in New York City has centered attention on a man who, his sponsors for the Democratic nomination believe, can regenerate faith in our form of government on a national scale as he already has largely done in New

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York; who combines the virtues of Franklin Roosevelt, Newton D. Baker, Owen Young, Albert Ritchie, and Alfred E. Smith, and in addition provides sufficient inspiration to catch the imagination of the people; whose long record of opposition to special privilege has given evidence of his consistent belief, while on the bench and afterwards, in human rights as opposed to property rights in the administration of justice; who never has supported Tammany Hall, but whose popularity with the people has three times forced the New York City Democratic machine to support him for high office.

That man is Samuel Seabury, counsel to the joint legislative committee investigating the government of the City of New York. He is a former Justice of the Supreme Court of New York State, a former Judge of the Court of Appeals, the State's court of last resort, and in 1916 he was the Democratic candidate for Governor. He was defeated because of Tammany's hatred for him as well as for President Wilson, whose first administration he forced the organization publicly to endorse.

Judge Seabury emerged a year ago from the retirement into which Tammany's treachery sent him in 1916, to attain in seven months a position without parallel in the history of American politics. As Referee of the Appellate Division Inquiry into the Magistrates Courts, his exposures shocked an indifferent New York public as it never has been shocked before. He then was appointed by Governor Roosevelt to investigate charges of misfeasance against District Attorney Thomas C. T. Crain. Before that was completed that state legislature passed a resolution for a city-wide investigation on the promise of legislative leaders that Judge Seabury would be named counsel to the committee. He thus became clothed with the power of the judicial, the executive and the legislative branches of the State government.

Tammany's Nemesis

In carrying out what John F. Curry, the present boss of Tammany Hall, declared under examination by Judge Seabury to be a "crucification" of Tammany, he forced Governor Roosevelt to meditate reluctantly on a definite break with Tammany and call the legislature into extraordinary session, after the Court of Appeals decided that the resolution appointing the legislative committee should be changed to a statute bearing the Governor's signature.

The statute, which Judge Seabury wrote, grants full immunity to witnesses testifying before legislative committees, with the alternative of perpetual sentences to jail at thirty-day intervals. An amendment to the conspiracy section of the State's criminal code, passed simultaneously, extends the same power to prosecutors. Thus, thanks to the sentiment Judge Seabury inspired, a vigorous District Attorney can do instantly what Illinois state authorities never did and what it took the government of the United States five years to accomplish — place a gangster like Al Capone more or less permanently in jail, unless the racketeer divulges the names of those to whom he paid bribes. Lawyers call the two Seabury measures the greatest corrective influences ever written into the bribery laws.

His consistent victories in every court action by which Tammany sought to oppose the progress of his investigations has caused a halo of invincibility to grow up in New York about Judge Seabury. To the citizens of the community he is the moral arbiter in the fight against corruption. When his prosecution of Magistrate Jean Hortense Norris, the city's first woman jurist, resulted in her removal from the bench, he was cheered, on his way from the courtroom, by hundreds of young girls waiting in the street for a glimpse of him; when he entered the court room to examine "Boss" Curry the applause was deafening; when his letter to Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State in the second Wilson administration, was read at a mass meeting called to fight corruption, the applause from the 20,000 attending the meeting exceeded that accorded anyone, including Governor Roosevelt.

The independent Democrats who are now planning to sponsor the candidacy of Judge Seabury for the Presidential nomination are convinced that he will add immeasurably to the party's chance for success in the November election next year. While his current activity is the means of centering public attention on him, they expect to show the delegates, and the nation at large, that his courage, determination, resourcefulness, and keen knowledge of government as demonstrated in his series of investigations, cause him to stand out in a field of candidates as he does physically in any gath-

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ering, and that his grasp of the fundamentals of government, plus his ability to meet critical issues with firmness and decision, would be as broad and effective in Washington as they have been in New York.

In substantiation of these claims they point to an editorial in the New York *World* immediately after upstate Democrats had forced Charles F. Murphy to give him the nomination for Governor in 1916: ". . . In Judge Samuel Seabury the Saratoga conference designated one of the ablest candidates for Governor the people of New York have had a chance to vote for in a generation. He is one of the original leaders of that new American democracy which is more concerned with human rights than property. Added to this is a genuine talent for government and an intimate knowledge of state affairs. . . ."

Opposition to corruption in the slow and painful, but inevitable, development of the ideal of Democracy is almost a tradition with Judge Seabury. On the day of his birth — February 22, 1873 — "Boss" Tweed, the first of the Tammany over-lords of graft, languished in jail, awaiting someone to sign his $1,000,000 bail. As a boy of thirteen he heard his father, rector of the Church of the Annunciation, preach a sermon on the corruption which provided the issue in the Mayoralty campaign of 1886, when Theodore Roosevelt received 10,000 less votes than Henry George, the Single Taxer, though neither was elected. He dropped his studies at New York Law School, through which he paid his own way by working nights and tutoring his classmates, to campaign, at 19, for Grover Cleveland's tariff reform in 1892, and he was one of the leaders in Henry George's fight against the franchise steals (1897) by which "Boss" Richard F. Croker was amassing the fortune which was to leave a heritage of misery to his children.

Judge Seabury's public exposure of corruption began before he was thirty. When he had been but a short time a judge of the City Court, to which he was elected on a fusion ticket in 1901, he exposed a system of jury-fixing employed by attorneys for the Metropolitan Street Railways Company, one of the companies Thomas Fortune Ryan "bought" from Croker, by which a paid employee of the company always managed to get into the jury box in damage suits against the company.

In 1905 Judge Seabury wrote a book advocating municipal ownership of public utilities, sincere in his belief at that time that public ownership and management was preferable to the thievery of machine politicians in franchise grants. The book precipitated an alliance with William Randolph Hearst, in the Municipal Ownership League, which that year ran Hearst for Mayor and, many believe yet, elected him. At any rate the following year Murphy, who had succeeded Croker as head of Tammany Hall nominated Hearst for Governor and Judge Seabury for Justice of the Supreme Court. Hearst was defeated by Charles Evans Hughes, through the intercession of President Roosevelt, but Seabury was elected.

The Break with Hearst

He split with Hearst, however, when the publisher started his Independence Party in 1908. Their relations since have been marked by an unconcealed contempt on Judge Seabury's part and bitter antagonism from the publisher. Hearst fought Judge Seabury when he ran independently for the Court of Appeals in 1913, though he supported the issue on which Judge Seabury ran — opposition to reactionism in the high court, which had just previously declared an employer's liability act unconstitutional. Seabury was elected to the Court of Appeals the following year, Murphy endorsing him in the hope of catching some of the 190,000 independent votes polled by the Judge upstate in the previous election.

Hearst fought Judge Seabury again in 1916, playing to the German and Irish-American vote which opposed President Wilson's favoritism toward the Allies. Two years later Murphy and Hearst had again joined forces and the Democratic state convention was all set to nominate the publisher for Governor when Judge Seabury — by parliamentary strategy in the face of cat-calls and shouts of "Throw him out!" from the Hearst contingent — forced a resolution through the convention describing the publisher as "a truckler with our country's enemies," and with "condoning the rape of Belgium, the sinking of the Lusitania," etc. Hearst's managers left the convention without presenting his name and Alfred E. Smith, whom Judge Seabury described to the convention as "the best representative of the worst element in the Democratic Party" was nominated and elected.

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In 1922, giving his unqualified endorsement to Smith, he called upon him to assert his leadership of the party and prevent the scheduled nomination of the publisher for United States Senator. Smith did and Hearst retired from personal participation in politics. Arthur Brisbane, his mouthpiece, recently sought a conference with Judge Seabury on what was generally rumored to be a mission of peace. He left it without much apparent consolation.

Brisbane's visit to Judge Seabury followed a suggestion from a member of the Tammany "Board of Strategy" that Judge Seabury might emerge from the current investigation a man of presidential dimensions. The compliment was intended to be a subtle thrust at Judge Seabury's motives in the inquiry. Former Judge Daniel Cohalan delivered it, but to his discomforture it brought charges from the rank and file of Tammany that he was a traitor to the Sachems, while independent Democrats seriously took up the suggestion.

The men in control of the State and National Democratic committees have demonstrated a studied indifference toward Judge Seabury since he quit a law practice that was earning him hundreds of thousands a year to enter the public service again. Such leaders as former Governor Smith, John J. Raskob, and United States Senators Robert F. Wagner and Royal S. Copeland have not even encouraged him in his exposé of corruption in the city. But from leaders in the party throughout the nation, as well as from independents in New York, have come warm praise and assurances of support. There is a group of independents well known throughout the country who have privately made plans to start the boom for Judge Seabury when he has presented in public, evidence already in his possession which, it is authoritatively said, will discredit every leader of prominence in Tammany. This group has been assured of ample financial assistance by millionaires reputed to be genuinely interested in the honest administration of government.

Judge Seabury received a unique compliment in the 1916 race for the Governorship. Every labor organization in the State endorsed his candidacy and sent their own leaders out to encourage voters to support him. It was a voluntary tribute and was never before or since accorded any candidate in the State.

This was evidence of a hold upon the public which comes in part from his "writing into the law," while a member of the judiciary — and in his public pronouncements since — the principle of human rights above property. He assailed the abuse of the injunction in labor disputes, declaring it to be a confiscation of the individual's right to trial by jury and a usurpation by courts of equity of the functions of courts of criminal jurisdiction.

That "liberty of contract" which reactionary judges of the Court of Appeals held prevented labor and social legislation, such as regulating the hours of women and children in industry, Judge Seabury declared more antiquated than Columbus. Tracing the history of the word "liberty" as used in the Constitution of the United States he averred that it meant only bodily liberty; that, realizing this, "liberty of the press," "freedom of speech," and "freedom of assembly" had been specifically inserted in the Constitution by the founders of the Republic. His exposition caused the high court, within three months after he had been elected to it, to remove "liberty of contract" from judicial consideration in constitutional law.

In a celebrated case he upheld the rights of motherhood and ordered the Board of Education to re-instate a woman teacher who had taken an enforced leave of absence for the purpose of bearing a child.

He assured reasonable taxicab rates to the citizens of New York when he upheld the right of the city to regulate its own streets.

Judge Seabury's appeal to the liberal element is enhanced by a decision he rendered almost twenty-five years ago when, in "Vindicating Voltaire," he held in a civil suit that . . . "it is no part of the duty of the court to exercise a censorship over literary productions unless they plainly violate the criminal law."

He took issue with the Federal court on the principle of State's Rights when he ordered a State receivership for a street railway company already in Federal receivership, holding that the State's right to revoke the charter of an insolvent company it had created could not be defeated by the assumption of Federal authority.

Judge Seabury believes that only by holding to the principle of States Rights is there hope for the ultimate success of the American Democracy. The Federal principle, he says, is America's contribution to the science of govern-

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ment — "the greatest devised by the wit of man" — but that we cannot expect to receive the benefits from it if we continue to employ the Federal government in the exercise of functions plainly the duty of the State.

"The reconciliation of majority and minority rights," he told students at Hobart College, which last summer conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, "is the most difficult problem of government. In attempting to meet this difficulty the founders of our government built upon the Federal principle. The Federal principle recognizes that the best way to reconcile the claims of majority and minority is under a dual system of government, which gives to the localities and states rights within a limited sphere, and to the national government rights within a different, but also limited, sphere — the latter having to do with matters affecting the rights of the people as a whole."

The rights of the individual to protection under "search and seizure" clauses of the Federal and State Constitutions Judge Seabury defended in 1908 in a decision on an application for an injunction against unwarranted police raids. Its application to present-day problems of prohibition would have a material effect in the enforcement of the Volstead Act. ". . . At common law," the opinion recited, "the King could not enter the house of his humblest subject on the mere suspicion that a crime had been, or was about to be, committed; the Governor of this State, in whom the chief executive power is vested in the Constitution, has no such right; but the limitations which restrain Kings and Governors are but ropes of sand to a New York policeman. . . . It cannot be reiterated too often that they have no such right. . . ."

Judge Seabury believes that all natural monopolies, such as light, heat, power, and transportation, belong to the people, and that while in the present development of the American code of ethics more efficient management will result from private control, the rights of the people must be carefully safeguarded through strict public regulation.

No Party Hack

In politics he regards himself as a Progressive Democrat. He has, however, invariably placed his political ideals first and has promoted whatever political movement seemed suited at the time to carry out those ideals. "In all," Oswald Garrison Villard wrote of him in 1916, "he has demonstrated a catholicity of taste, undeniable political independence; he has been no party hack, no man over whom any boss or set of bosses has cracked the whip."

Judge Seabury's career has been but a continuation of a tradition of public service which his family has maintained since the early days of the Republic. His father, Rev. William Jones Seabury, D.D. and his grandfather, Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., were both rectors of the Church of the Annunciation and professors at General Theological Seminary. His great-great-grandfather was Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of America; and the Bishop's grandfather married a grand-daughter of John and Priscilla Alden.

This distinguished ancestry is marked in Judge Seabury's appearance. He is more than six feet in height, broad-shouldered, ruddy-faced, and vigorous-looking. His hair is snow-white and is always parted precisely in the middle. In his face are the lines of wisdom and experience, while about his lips the mobile muscles play, ready to smile or to set in the hard stern lines of Justice personified. When he is on the bench in his robes as Referee, he seems strangely out of place in his Tammany surroundings. He looks somehow as one imagines a judge should look.

When he is "in the pit" before the court, this impassive calm of the jurist leaves him like a shadow. Whether he is shooting inquisitorial questions with a rapier's sharpness, or pleading for the court's decision, he displays a boundless energy. His diction is that of the precise student of English; his delivery is in the manner of an orator; his voice is a baritone which creeps up to passionate heights. He has something that Presidential candidates can well use in these days of the radio — feeling in his voice.

Naturally Judge Seabury's friends neither expect, nor want, the support of the Tammany delegation at the Democratic convention. But it will serve him nevertheless, by its opposition to Governor Roosevelt. For the Seabury nomination depends on Governor Roosevelt's failure to get it on the first ballot. That, of course, is also true of other candidates. Such a development is the history of contemporary

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Democratic conventions. Champ Clark was by far the favorite contender at Baltimore in 1912 when Wilson was nominated; McAdoo would have walked away with it in New York in 1924 but for the opposition of Smith which brought the mantle to John W. Davis; and in San Francisco in 1920 A. Mitchell Palmer blocked the nomination of James M. Cox of Ohio until he had made a "deal" satisfactory to his block of southern delegates.

A Dark Horse?

If such a deadlock should occur Judge Seabury's friends are convinced that he would quickly become the most formidable candidate. About his record in the fight for social justice the masses could be counted on to rally; his protestant ecclesiastical ancestry and his own career, much of it spent in combating corruption in government, would bring the support of that vaste horde of voters who reside in what Mencken terms "the Bible Belt," while the positiveness with which he engages in controversy would make the present Incumbent, the probable Republican candidate, innocuous by comparison. There could be no greater contrast than to place Judge Seabury and Mr. Hoover either before an audience, or confront them with a difficult problem in government. Where the President hesitates, Seabury would act; while Hoover ponders in bewilderment, Seabury proceeds with an intuitive sense of the motives which inspire men.

It is quite apparent that many factors will enter into the situation between now and the convention. Six months ago, for instance, the vital issue was prohibition, and it may be so again. Prohibition to Judge Seabury would not become a passion; it is, in his opinion, only one of numerous instances in which the Federal government assumes to exercise the functions which properly fall within the duty of the States.

In the city-wide investigation, which will continue until convention time approaches, many of those close to Judge Seabury believe that he will show, in the roll-call of police and political grafters, the actual corruption which the Eighteenth Amendment has brought to us, and its effect on the common disregard for all law, and that as it is in New York, so is it in lesser degree in every community in the nation. But Judge Seabury will not stop with disclosing the outward evidences of that corruption. He will follow it to its source, and many predict that, it being impossible for New York's daily river of beer to flow if the Washington dam were ship-shape, he will hand to the Democrats a national issue of corruption applicable to everyone's home town.

On Being Too Inhibited

Now may the pitying eye discern
The pinched and wistful soul
Of one who was so late to learn
That often "self control"

Is neither more nor less, in truth,
Than just the meagre art
Of planing the emotions smooth
And chiselling the heart!

—Sara Henderson Hay

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He Sits There All Day Long

by **WILLIAM MARCH**

I

I STOOD with my cap in my hand while the superintendent bawled me out. "What's all this about passing floors with an empty car?" he asked; "now get this in your head: the tenants of this building pay for first-class elevator service, and they've got a right to expect it!" I just looked down at the floor; I didn't have any comeback.

"The starter says he's had a dozen kicks about you in the past few days. He says you don't pay any attention to his signals."

"I guess he's right," I said. "I haven't got a leg to stand on."

Mr. Donovan looked in his black book. "You been with us a year now and you've always given good service in the past. — What's come over you, anyway?"

I didn't say anything to that. What could I say? . . .

"You act like you got something on your mind worrying you," said Mr. Donovan. "I don't want to ride you if you're feeling sick. — What's the matter with you?"

"I don't know," I said.

I couldn't tell him about the old man and how I see that look in his eyes all the time. . . . I couldn't do that — he'd think I was nuts myself. I couldn't tell him that every time I get to thinking about the old man, and how he sits there all day long staring out of the window, I feel light and funny and forget where I am and want to cry and bang my head against the elevator wall. . . . I couldn't tell Mr. Donovan a thing like that, now could I? . . .

God damn that settlement house woman! — Why couldn't she mind her own business? Why couldn't she stay on Park Avenue where she belonged and play with her Pekingese dogs, and not come around bothering other people? What business was it of hers if it suited Mamma and me to take care of the old man? What kick did she have coming? — But oh, no! — She had to come sticking her nose in. I blame her for the whole thing, that's what! I blame her. . . . No, I guess I'm more to blame than anybody else; I had no business letting them talk me into it. I should have stuck by the old man no matter what happened. — I'm going to tell you the whole story. You'll see then what I mean; you'll agree that I'm the one to blame. . . . Maybe you can tell me what I ought to do. . . .

It all happened six months ago when the old man took sick one morning. He had just passed his fifty-second birthday. That's not really old. — Why I carry up in my car every day men that are at least sixty-five or seventy years old and they are as spry and pink-cheeked as you please, but of course they haven't worked hard all their lives. That makes a difference all right. The old man had to work like a slave for the little he got. . . . Well, about a week before his birthday Mamma and me decided we'd give him a party and have everybody bring him a present and wish him a long life and all that. My sister, Viola, and Al, her husband, came over from Elizabeth with their three kids that night. My oldest sister, Evelyn, and her husband came down also. Mamma had cooked up a good supper, with all the dishes the old man liked, and everybody laughed and had a good time. Well, say — he was sure tickled when he tumbled to what was coming off. "Gee!" he said, "Whoever in the world thought of giving an old man like me a *birthday* party, now?" . . . "It was Danny's idea, I'll bet," he said later. "Yes," said Mamma, "Danny was the one that thought of it first."

After supper some people from upstairs came down. They were wops and one of them could play anything you called for on his

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accordion. I stayed out in the kitchen and opened bottles of beer; I didn't want anybody to go away thirsty. After a while everybody got warmed up good; so Al started a buck and wing, but Viola made him stop. "Sit down, Al," she hollered, "and nobody won't know you're drunk!" . . . "Yeah?" said Al, "I'll show you who's drunk!" Then his feet slipped and he sat down on the floor. Well, he took it good-natured. He laughed like everything.

Then things got quieter and the old man began to talk about the time he crossed from Ireland in a sailing vessel. Everybody sat around respectful and asked questions when he stopped talking for a minute. Finally he asked the accordion player to play a song named "The Harp That Once Through Tara's Halls," but the wop didn't know that piece, he said. He played "You're the Cream in My Coffee," instead.

Block Print by Lowell Balcom

Well, about eleven o'clock Viola's kids got sleepy, so she and Al had to take them home. Then everybody went home because the old man had to get up in the morning early, and Mamma began to put the place in order again. The old man made out he was pie-eyed and staggered a little, and I began to clown and pretend I was a cop putting him under arrest. Then he put both his arms around me and pulled me to him. "You're a good boy, Danny," he whispered, "and I want you to know I wouldn't ask for a better son." Understand?—"I wouldn't ask for a better son." He said that to me; honest to Christ, he did! Nobody asked him to say it. He wouldn't say a thing like that unless he meant it, would he? . . . And then for me to do what I did when he was sick and down and out. — Oh Jesus! It don't seem possible that anybody could be that low. It really don't. . . .

II

I'M GLAD we gave him that party, though. He talked about it for a month afterward. I remember just a few days before he had that attack he was talking about how Viola's youngest boy, Freddy, picked up a glass of beer belonging to the accordion player and drank half of it before anybody could stop him. When the old man thought of that, he began to chuckle. "That's a great youngster of Viola's," he said. "He's going to take after his granddaddy." . . . "Well," said Mamma, laughing too, "little good that'll do the poor lad."

And then that morning he took sick. It happened suddenly. The old lady had got up and gave him his breakfast and was fixing his lunch box when he made a gagging noise and blew bubbles out of his mouth. Then he stood up and tried to tear off his collar. I was up and almost dressed by then, and when the old lady hollered, I came a running. We picked him up and laid him on the bed. He had begun to stiffen up some and his mouth was bleeding where he had hit it against the edge of the table when he fell. I took off his shoes and his pants and opened up his undershirt. The hair on his chest was turning gray in patches and his hands lay on the bed palms upward with his fingers bent in. His finger nails were thick like they were made out of metal. They were caked halfway down with dirt and stained with oil. I tried to straighten out his fingers, but I couldn't do it. Then his face began to turn gray, and his eyes rolled backward.

He lay that way for two months and four days without speaking and without moving his head. Then he seemed to get some better,

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and the doctor said he could sit up. So we fixed him a chair by the window and he would sit there all day long, not moving. If you turned his head one way, he would look that way until you moved it in another direction. The old lady would come in every few minutes, to see that he was all right. She was afraid he might have another attack and fall out of the chair, so she couldn't leave him for long.

Well, the doctor bills and the medicine came to a tidy sum. — Oh, sure; you've got to expect that. . . . It took about all we had saved. Things got pretty bad for us, I'll admit that. With the old man's pay envelope stopped, it was hard trying to come out even at the end of the week. I only make twenty bucks and that don't go far, as you know, with a sick man to take care of. We couldn't expect any help from Viola or Evvie. They were willing to do what they could, but after all they're married and got families of their own to think about. At last we were down to rock bottom. We didn't know what to do or which way to turn. Then one morning a woman at the A & P store told Mamma about that charity organization, and she talked it over with me. "Nothing doing," I said. "We'll pay our own way. We don't ask charity from anybody."

"Where's the rent money to come from, and who's going to pay the electric light man when he comes around for his?" Mamma asked.

"Maybe I can get a job working part time at night," I said. "We're bound to think of some way."

"If I didn't have him to look out for, I might get cleaning work in an office building," she said. "That would help out until times got better."

"Get that idea off your mind," I said. "I guess I'm head of this family now, and I won't have you scrubbing up after other people. I'll think of something if we can hold out a while."

Well, things went on like that for a couple of days and then Mamma went to the organization. That night when I got home the Park Avenue dame was sitting there. It didn't take but a minute for me to see how things were working. I spoke to her politely, but I told her I thought she'd better be going on home, because she had made a mistake. "We're not taking charity," I said. "We're much obliged to you, and all that, but you've come to the wrong house."

"I told you he was going to act like this," said Mamma. Then she turned to me. "You talk that way because you're young and full of pride, Danny," she said; "wait until you're as old as I am and see how much pride you have." Then she began to cry. She said I'd hurt her feelings in front of the charity woman. "God knows," she said, "this is a bitter pill for me to swallow, Danny, but what else can we do? There's just $1.74 in the whole house, and the rent not paid, with the gas sure to be shut off, if we don't do something."

I didn't know what to say. I sat down and tried to think of something, but I couldn't. There were one or two women standing in the hall, at our door, listening. I walked over to the door. "Get the hell away from here!" I said, "and mind your own business." Then I slammed the door in their faces, and went into the kitchen and sat down. The charity woman came in and sat down beside me and took my hand in hers. "I'm your friend, Danny," she said. "I want you to think of me as your friend."

"Yeah?" I said.

"Losing your temper won't help matters any," she said. "That won't solve your problems."

I sat there without saying anything.

"Your mother tells me that you're only nineteen years old," she said.

"I'll be twenty in October," I said.

The lady shook her head. "You're too young to try to carry a burden like this. It's too big a load to put on your shoulders. Our organization wants to help worthy cases like you and your mother." I sat there thinking for a few minutes. "All right," I said. "What do you want me to do?"

"Nothing at all," said the lady. "All we ask is that you go on working the best you can and not interfere with the plans your mother and I have made."

"Yeah?" I said. "What plans have you got?"

"Well, in the first place," she said, "we can get your mother work over on the Avenue in a bachelor's apartment. It's hard work, I know, but she's a strong woman, and she's willing to do it. She can earn ten or fifteen dollars a week that way. That'll make all the difference in the world, you'll find."

"Oh, sure," I said. "We thought of that ourselves. That's a fine scheme. — But who's

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going to take care of *him* while she's away working? Do you want him to fall out of his chair and break his neck, or have another spell with nobody to look out for him?"

The lady took both my hands in hers and held them again. "Now, Danny," she said, "what I'm going to say will hurt you, I know, but we've talked it over and it's the only thing to do. . . . Your father will be better off in an institution."

I took my hands away and sat looking at her. "Say, you're not really figuring on a thing like that?" I asked. "You're not figuring on doing a thing like that to him . . . ?"

"It's the only way out," said the lady. "He'll have the proper care and medical attention there. It's the best thing to do."

I got up from my seat. "No," I said. "No." Then Mamma, hearing me talk loud again, came in the kitchen and they both began to work on me. It wasn't fair to Mamma, the lady said, to be tied hand and foot all day. . . . And it wasn't fair to the old man to deprive him of the care and attention which we couldn't give him at home. It wasn't as if he understood things, she said. His mind was completely gone; he was like a little baby; but with care and attention, he might get well again. The charity lady talked that way for a long time while Mamma sat and wrung her hands and said I was insulting her before the lady. I wouldn't listen to them any more. "No," I said. "No."

III

But the next day it was the same thing all over again. It went on that way for several nights, and then I give in. I shouldn't have done it; I know that now. — But what could I do? I didn't have anybody to talk to. I didn't know which way to turn. The lady said everything was nice at the asylum and that Mamma and me could come over and visit him regular and see for ourselves that he was being treated right. I began to feel very tired after a while. They had me all mixed up. "All right," I said. "All right, then."

I went back to the room. The old man's head had slipped down on the back of his chair. His mouth was half open. I wiped off his face with a towel, and looked in his eyes. They were blue like flowers in a florist shop, but there wasn't no expression in them at all. It was like he was dead and waiting for the undertaker to come. I began to think of what the lady said about him being like a child again. I thought of a lot of things.

Then I took the last dollar we had and went to the speakeasy on the corner and bought a bottle of gin. I stood in a doorway across the street until the social lady came out and got in her car and drove away. When she had gone, I went upstairs and Mamma and me sat in the kitchen drinking. After a while Mamma began to cry again. "I know you think I'm a heartless woman," she said. "I know you blame me for all this. You'll hold it in your heart to your dying day."

"I don't blame you for anything," I said.

Yes, you do, Danny," she said. "You'll hold it in your heart against me. You know you will. . . . God knows, I tried," she said. "I tried to do the very best I knew how. I defy the Holy Virgin and all the saints in heaven to say I didn't try."

"I know you done what you thought was right," I said. "I know that, Mamma."

But Mamma sat shaking her head. "It won't be bad at all in the asylum," she said. "The lady says there are lots of green trees all around it. — You remember how he liked trees and how he was always talking about Ireland and how sweet and green everything was there."

"All right," I said, "but don't talk about it any more."

Mamma wouldn't stop talking. She poured out another drink from the bottle. "The attendants all wear fresh white uniforms. They don't even let you say the word lunatic there: they refer to them as 'patients' and they take them out for a walk twice every day."

I got up and went into the next room, shutting the door. But Mamma went on and on. I could hear her talking to herself and crying even after I had gone to bed. I thought the gin would make me sleep, but it didn't. I kept remembering one Sunday, when I was a little boy, and how the old man took me to Coney for the day. We ate hot dogs and corn on the cob and went in all the side shows. Then, in the afternoon, we went swimming. Gee, we had a good time that Sunday! I went to sleep coming home on the subway and the old man carried me all the way from the station in his arms. The next morning when I woke up I thought I was still at Coney. I kept saying, "Let's go ride on

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the roller coaster again!" The old man laughed and laughed. . . . I remembered, too, the time when I was playing ball in Hudson Street with some kids and that truck hit me, breaking my arm, and how the old man sat up with me night after night whittling a boat which he put in a glass bottle for me. Everybody else in the house was asleep except me and the old man. I kept turning about in bed and getting the sheets all knotted up when I remembered those things. "There ought to be some way for us to keep him at home," I thought over and over, but I couldn't think of any way to do it. . . .

That was two weeks ago. Last Saturday the charity lady had all the papers fixed up and signed proper and they came and took him away. I went along with him to see that everything was all right. The old man didn't move an eyelash during the ride. He just sat there, with me holding him up. And then, after a while, we got to the asylum and it was time for me to go back home and leave him. I went over to tell him good-by. Then a funny thing happened. I can't be sure of it, even now, but when I took hold of his hand, his eyes seemed to turn in their sockets, his mouth opened and closed a couple of times, and his lids came down slowly. For a second I thought I was going to keel over. The next thing I knew, I was outside.

I sat on the steps thinking for a while. Then I walked down to the office of the head doctor and explained about the old man. I told him the old man was just sick, and not crazy, as they thought. I told him we'd all made a mistake and I was ready to take him back home with me. But the doctor wouldn't even listen when I tried to tell him about the look in the old man's face. "You can see your father any regular visiting day," he kept saying. "No," I said. "No. I'm going to take him home with me." . . . But I couldn't get him out. It takes money and lawyers to do that. What could I do? Answer me that — what could I do?

IV

I KEPT seeing that look in his face coming back on the ferry. "By God, they can't treat me that way!" I thought. "Who do they think they are, to get away with a thing like that? . . . I've got influential friends. . . . There's an old gentleman named Mr. Miller who rides in my car every day. He always says 'Good morning' and 'Good night' and asks me how I'm feeling. He's rich and he owns a lot of things. I'll bet he owns that asylum, too. I'll bet those doctors would feel pretty cheap if he went over with me on visiting day and said to the head man: 'Say, what the hell are you trying to pull on my friend, Danny? Where do you think you are — Russia? . . .'"

How do those doctors know that the old man is crazy? How can they say what's going on in his mind? Suppose he's got just as much sense as you or me, but can't talk or express himself? Suppose he was trying to let me know that when he moved his lips and closed his eyes? . . . Think of that! — What a sweet idea he must have of people now! — What do you suppose he's thinking of right this minute? All right, then, I'll tell you: He's thinking how he worked hard all his life trying to raise a family decently and to pay the rent and buy groceries. . . . And what did he get out of it? Nothing. — He's thinking: "It was all right when I got my pay envelope regular. It was all swell then; they pretended to think a lot of me and gave me birthday parties; but the minute I was down and out, and not able to work for them any longer, they put me in this place with a bunch of nuts." . . . That's what he's thinking about, and he's right.

He's thinking: "I never expected a hell of a lot from the rest of the world, but I wouldn't have thought this of Danny. I believed he was different and really cared something about me, but Danny's just a dirty little rat, after all. He's got his hand out like everybody else, I guess!" . . .

Oh Christ! — Can't you see how it is? Can't you see why I get confused and mixed up and want to bump my head against the side of my car when I think of the old man, and how he sits there all day long with his hands lying loose in his lap? . . . But I know what I'm going to do. I'm going over to see him next Sunday. I'm going to explain the whole thing to him and make him understand how it happened. . . . "Don't you worry," I'm going to say; "I'll get you out of this place. . . . I'm going to take you back home very soon. — You'll get well in no time and we'll all be happy again.— Don't you worry; leave it all to me. . . . I got influential friends working on your case and we'll have you out of this place before you know it. — You just leave everything to old Danny! Don't you worry at all!" . . .

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FREEDOM for the Philippines

by **RAYMOND L. BUELL**

I

IT IS NOW clear that the Hoover administration cannot stave off much longer Congressional action on the Philippines question. The demands of the Filipinos have long since passed beyond the stage of academic debate. Confronted by the refusal of American officials to discuss the independence issue, an undercurrent of bitterness has developed during the last year in the Islands, which is illustrated by the fanatical Colorum riots of last January and the attack this July upon the Army and Navy club at Manila during the Hawes independence parade.

There are Americans who still insist that these demonstrations are artificially instigated by the *politicos* and that the masses of the people prefer the continuance of American rule. But those who harbor such a belief are deluding themselves. They make the mistake of grossly underestimating the strength of revolutionary sentiment — a mistake committed by most imperial governments from the time of Lord North on. When as genial a friend of the United States as General Aguinaldo comes out for independence, it is evident that the Philippines are as united upon this issue as any people can be.

For this independence sentiment the United States is partly responsible. It is true that we annexed the Philippines at the end of the Spanish war, in violation of previous promises, when we could have recognized the independence of the Malolos government, subject to American protection and advice. Nevertheless, at the very beginning of our occupation, American officials announced that our policy was aimed at fitting the people for self-government, and every president down to Calvin Coolidge led the Filipinos to believe that eventually they would receive independence in case they desired it. In establishing an elected legislature, in turning over hundreds of administrative posts to the Filipinos, and in diffusing education among the masses, albeit at Philippine expense, we have paved the way for independence. It is too late now to turn back.

As a result of the round table conference in London last winter the British have undertaken to grant a measure of self-government to India far greater than that enjoyed by the Philippines — and this despite the fact that the Filipinos as a group are probably much more able to govern themselves than the people of India with their many castes. The force of this Indian example is sinking into the Filipino consciousness. If the Hoover administration meets the demand for independence with stony silence, the eventual result can only be an anti-American movement which may take the form of passive resistance or of open violence. In view of our repeated promises to the Philippines, and our frequent denials that we possess "colonies," the United States cannot afford to be the most reluctant of the great imperial powers to make concessions to its wards.

II

WITHIN THIS country the ranks of those who believe in Philippine independence because of principle have been swelled during the last few years by those who support independence because of self-interest. In 1913 the United States adopted a free trade régime with the Philippines under which American manufactures enter the Islands free of duty, while Philippine products similarly enter the United States. As a result of this free trade, Filipino

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sugar, copra, and coconut oil have entered into competition with our domestic products to the discomfiture of some of our farmers. Unsuccessful in their efforts to terminate the free trade régime, these interests now support independence, knowing full well that once the Philippines are free, Congress will erect a high tariff barrier against their products, and thus safeguard the American market.

Opponents of independence express indignation that such "sordid" commercial motives should enter into the Philippines question. But surely it is hypocrisy to oppose independence simply because American sugar and coconut oil producers favor it. For years other business interests have strenuously opposed independence because of the "sordid" belief that independence would end their present trade privileges. If the influence of one group of business interests is now offset by another, the Philippines question may at last be decided upon the basis of the needs and interests, not of American business men, but of the Filipino people.

No more serious blow to independence was ever dealt than by establishing free trade between the Philippines and the United States. Under an ordinary tariff régime, in which the Philippines would have charged duties upon all imports, the Islands would have developed their own resources so as to increase the native standard of living; they also would have developed foreign trade with their neighbors, such as Indo-China, the Dutch colonies, China, and Japan. But because of free trade, the foreign commerce of the Philippines has been funneled to the United States, located seven thousand miles away. On the other hand, the high American tariff obstructs the flow of products between the Philippines and Japan.

The free trade régime, applying only to the United States, is thus a policy which flagrantly violates the open door and is therefore irritating to foreign nations. What is more, this situation has made the whole economy of the Islands dependent upon the maintenance of the present political relationship with the United States. It is quite true, as opponents of independence state, that immediate freedom, accompanied by the sudden termination of free trade, would deal a vital blow to the Philippine economic system — but this would not be due to any fault of the Filipino people: it would be due to a mistaken economic policy of the United States.

There is grave danger that the next Congress, controlled by the Democrats and the Farm Bloc, will overlook this tariff factor and vote a bill for immediate political and economic independence. President Hoover could sign such a bill, thus throwing the Islands into economic anarchy. On the other hand, should he veto it, he would have to assume the responsibility for perpetuating a rule which the Filipinos strenuously oppose. It is doubtful whether a man who has pledged himself to the evacuation of Haiti and Nicaragua would care to assume this responsibility. What then is the alternative? The alternative is for the President to initiate a policy of his own.

III

So far, the only indication of the Administration's view on the Philippines is contained in the testimony of Secretary Stimson before a Senate committee last winter. Speaking from his brief experience as Governor-General of the Islands, Mr. Stimson expressed opposition to any interference with the existing free trade régime. He argued that free trade should be continued, and that consequently the economic ties between the Islands and the United States be drawn more taut than ever. Its continuance may be a subtle means of attacking the independence movement, but it is a policy which will only increase the bitterness of the Filipinos when they learn, if indeed they do not know it already, that free trade, instead of benefiting the Islands as a whole, has created a monopoly for American business men. The continuance of free trade will not prevent the coming of independence; it will simply increase the trials of the Filipinos, once they become free.

The only sound policy for the White House is honestly to accept the principle of independence, and to take measures whereby this principle may be realized without creating economic disaster. If the President wishes to forestall extremist action both in the American Congress and in the Philippines, he should convene a round table conference of Filipino and American leaders. This conference should work out a plan for political independence, accompanied by a transitional régime in which free trade with the United States would be gradually terminated and trade treaties negotiated and

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markets built up between the Philippines and their Oriental neighbors.

Such a conference could also make provision for the employment of foreign advisers by the Philippine government, for the safeguarding of foreign investments, and for the neutralization of the Islands either through membership in the League of Nations or by a Pacific pact. Under no circumstances should the United States seek the right to maintain naval bases in an independent Philippine republic. Other nations would bitterly resent it.

No matter how humanitarian the colonial government may be, a people under alien rule is necessarily prevented from assuming the responsibility that is essential for the full development of its political and cultural gifts. Freedom for the Philippines no doubt will mean for the time being an increase in corruption and inefficiency; but it will also mean the growth of national responsibility and self-respect and the release of springs of energy which at present are held down by the psychological and cultural repression inevitably arising from alien rule. No people learns to govern itself so long as it is held in leading strings.

No More "Plans"

by **L. M. GRAVES**

As a student of practical economic matters, I have read with considerable interest recent articles in The Forum advocating a plan for business in the United States. It may be, as some intimate, that it has now come to be a mark of sophistication to deride the naïve caution of those who question the validity of panaceas. It may be that we have reached the point in this country where a planning board of some sort would appear to be necessary. Nevertheless, it seems to me well to consider what is really involved. Those who talk about the necessity of setting up a plan for American industry fail to recognize, or at least to explain, that this involves the scrapping of a whole social order and the substitution therefore of a different sort of order which may some time and somewhere in the world prove to be more or less successful, but which might not work in this country and might, on the other hand, lead to ruin much more quickly than is predicted of the present system by its most enthusiastic critics.

The immediate impelling cause of the large demand for some kind of a "plan" is undoubtedly the business depression. Depressions there always have been and always will be for one cause or another. The most highly improved Russian bolshevik plan will not prevent people from going hungry if the crops fail or if the leaders steal everything from the people or if the workers in the factories revolt and destroy the machinery instead of operating it. Nevertheless, there is something more permanent than a financial depression underlying the discussion.

For thirty or forty years, the trend in American industry has been away from individual control toward a socialized order. This has long been recognized as inevitable with the disappearance of the frontier and the growing congestion of population. The degree of individual freedom which was possible and necessary a half century ago is no longer possible. All activities are coming to be organized about some group, some corporate body.

Under our *laissez faire* traditions, it is natural that the collective interest has been somewhat neglected, that individualistic motives have been carried over to a large extent into the new group forms. But it appears that we have now reached a stage of comparative maturity in our industrial development which is destined to bring far-reaching changes.

We have reached the point where the great problem is to conserve and perpetuate our in-

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stitutions. The typical economic institutions of our civilization are three: machinery, credit, and speculation; and the problems which they raise are manifold.

The use of credit in all its many forms greatly stimulates production of manufactured goods. Business men are able to pay for goods, buildings, or labor without actually possessing the means of payment — even without any actual payment whatever of existing money (coin) being made. Credit is also applied to the consumption of goods as well as production. Extension of credit to consumers increases their present buying power, while curtailing their buying power at some time in the future when repayment has to be made — thus giving rise to great waves in consumer demand. Moreover, the credit system gives control of business largely to banks which furnish the credit, either long-term or short-term, wherewith enterprises are undertaken and prosecuted. One of the worst features of our system is unquestionably the irresponsible authority wielded by bankers. The bank furnishes the gateway between the industrialist and the business opportunity. Anyone can conduct a banking business who can manage to climb into it and stay there. He is responsible to no one except for the ordinary legal rules against fraud and outright robbery.

A system of business organization so grounded in credit naturally leads to speculation: speculation in land for industrial sites, in buildings, in the materials of industry, and in the shares (stocks) in the enterprise. In fact, the whole industrial operation is essentially speculative; everything is made to sell, the producer assuming the risk of loss. Speculation proceeding on borrowed money in part stimulates activity, in part (when carried to excess) restricts actual industry, and periodically throws the whole machinery of finance out of gear.

Organized speculation, especially short selling on the exchanges, will unquestionably be one of the bones of contention during the next few years. Violent attacks will be made upon it, in particular by the farming interests, and such attacks will be a part of the radical agitation which is destined soon to shake the foundations of our institutions.

Not only the credit system, but the factory system — the machine itself — has led to apparently insoluble problems. The use of machinery tends to over-production and unemployment in the mechanized lines. The machine system in its ultimate development tends to a dead level of living which portends ill for the future of the country.

No assignable limit can be placed upon the efficiency of machinery in those manufacturing activities which lend themselves to large scale operation. The productivity of the machine at any rate usually increases more rapidly than the market for the product. The number of men employed declines. The men so displaced must be absorbed in other lines of activity, which of course can be done only in a prosperous and rapidly growing country. The United States has now reached a point of maturity where new industries will develop less rapidly and those unemployed for technological reasons will find much greater difficulty in getting work.

Eventually we come to find men starving outside the walls of overstuffed warehouses: want and surplus in the same place. At once we are told that the only way out is to quit making things (and holding them off the market) for profit. Produce for consuming needs and distribute to needy consumers. That is, adopt a communistic system with forced labor and controlled production. Some committee there must be (we are told) which can say to this man "work here" and to that "work there," which can shut down a factory when too much has been produced and which will pay the workers on some other basis than hours occupied and amount produced. This, of course, is getting very close to the Russian system — or what is supposed to be the Russian system. Strangely enough, it is subject to one of the same objections as our own: namely, authority without responsibility. For an authority greater than that wielded by our great bankers must be concentrated in the hands of an irresponsible and self-perpetuating oligarchy which may or may not rule with benevolent paternalism.

The modern industrial order, based on machinery and credit, is of course highly unstable. Presumably it is subject to more rapid and violent fluctuations than any other economic order the world has known. This is a disadvantage to those (naturally the great majority) who suffer by depression and gain relatively little from prosperity, and affords a

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great opportunity to the astute few who are able to take advantage of the advances and declines for personal profit. It is too much to expect that the proper division of effort among the various industries could be made. Inevitably some will be more profitable than others and will attract an over-supply of capital and labor leading to production of more of that particular type of goods than can be sold — or at least can be sold at profit. Speculators naturally overdo a good thing. When an upward movement gets started, prices are carried up to totally unjustifiable heights. Periodically an insane frenzy of enthusiasm seizes upon the whole social organism and everything is inflated beyond recognition or possibility of maintenance. If anything goes seriously wrong in one quarter, the system is so interrelated that the effects are almost immediately felt everywhere. For the occasional few years of buoyant prosperity which are experienced, there is periodically an offsetting time of profound depression and despair.

The whole capitalistic order has now reached a stage of maturity or of old age. In fact, in its original home in Western Europe it has undoubtedly entered upon the stage of decline from which there can be no return. Western Europe is essentially a factory with a bank at the front door and a wharf on the side. Its bankers in times before the Great War went out into undeveloped countries, or rather they lent money to their associates who organized the operating companies, developed the native resources, and exploited the markets. The raw materials thus produced were shipped back home to be manufactured and sent out again for sale to the natives who worked in the mines, forests, or plantations. The sea lanes to the distant colonies and "spheres of influence" were kept open by great navies.

This was imperialism par excellence and Great Britain was its most perfect exemplar. Germany disputed the leadership of Britain and tried to seize the imperial dominions. In so doing, she succeeded in destroying the whole system. Markets were disrupted or lost, the United States and Japan grew up as more effective competitors, native industries arose in countries like India. As a result, Western Europe is decadent. The elements of the old order are gone forever. Nothing but progressive decline is possible for the West of Europe as a whole. It is only possible that some one country may again, at the expense of the others, enjoy relative prosperity.

The sole hope for a real and lasting comeback for any European country, however, is to get control of some new source of raw materials, some new unexploited market, some new avenue for the investment of surplus capital (if Europe again comes to have a surplus). The chances of building up such an empire in South America or Africa are slim because of the relatively small natural resources remaining to be developed in those continents. India and China have slipped away from the white man's domination and promise to go further and further astray. Only Russia remains, and of the Western nations only Germany could possibly establish a working agreement which would carry with it the leadership necessary to the exploitation of the valuable resources and markets of that vast domain. Any such alliance too might carry the countries participating therein far from the individualist-capitalist system of the West.

Would a Plan Help?

At best, it is quite apparent, our industrial civilization faces a trying decade or two with plenty of problems pressing for solution and plenty of opportunities for the exercise of ingenuity in maintaining something resembling the institutions to which we have been accustomed, restoring some measure of prosperity, and making such modifications as prove to be required by changing conditions. At worst, our civilization may be passing out.

A planning board may be a good thing for the country; it may be necessary. However, it is difficult to work up any real enthusiasm for the idea. An advisory sort of board — yes. Harmless, maybe helpful, but certainly nothing to stir the blood. An effective committee, however, would meet opposition from most persons (and they are at present the dominating group) who were born west of Hoboken before the turn of the century and in whom the fading heritage of the old frontier persists. Not until this generation gives way to the drugstore cowboys and pavement pounders bred in the "socialized" atmosphere of the great cities, will the active administration of ordinary business be handed over to any committee of dollar-a-year men.

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In considering the proposal for a planning board, it is also well to recognize squarely what is involved. If the board is to have control over employment and regulate output, it will have to control and administer the active management of all basic enterprises. Anything on the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission or the Federal Trade Commission regulating large scale business in the interest of reasonable prices and charges, fair competition, and such like would get nowhere at all. The board must control active management. That means it must own the majority of the stock in the important industries of the country. And it must be self-perpetuating, just like Stalin's inner group — for no popularly chosen body would dare to do half the things it would be required to do. Obviously, the bankers would loan nobody money to invest in a business whose management was vested in a government board and half or more of the profits of which would go to the government to be distributed on a per capita basis. The credit system accordingly will pass and with it the private system of savings. The country's capital will have to be maintained and augmented through taxation.

Perhaps this picture is pleasing to some citizens. Maybe we want a board of this kind. Maybe we want to call up Washington every time we order a carload of material or ship out a truckload of goods to be sold. Maybe we want someone down in Washington who may or may not have seen a factory at some time in his life to hire and fire our labor and determine the wages we should pay. Maybe we want to save up our money in order to pay it over as taxes to be spent on such capital improvements as the powers-that-be think fit. Maybe not. We are having a Seabury investigation in New York because unwittingly New Yorkers had been making just such involuntary savings for the benefit of Tammany Hall and its friends. We ought to be satisfied with such facilities for graft as we now have in Tammany, prohibition enforcement, and some thousands of other political organizations in this country. A planning board may or may not work in Russia in the long run. In the United States, it is an absolute certainty that it would graft the country white inside of five years; there would not be blood enough left in the body politic to fill the circulatory system of a turnip.

Another point to be remembered is that the whole proposition depends upon successfully forecasting business trends. Every "plan" involves a Forecasting Committee. As a professional forecaster, I should perhaps welcome this proposal with open arms. Maybe I would, of course, if I were sure my own particular organization would be given the job of making the forecasts. But would I trust the findings of any of my competitors? I would never believe them even if I agreed with all their premises and conclusions. Anyway no three of them would ever agree among themselves. Business forecasting, we may hope, is a useful function. Every man has to engage in it. So long as we are free to make or choose our own forecasts it is at any rate no worse than a necessary evil.

But suppose that we had an official forecaster whose findings everyone were bound to accept and follow. Ah, that were different! A private forecaster can make a mistake without precipitating the end of the world. But suppose that our official Forecasting Committee made a mistake. (Such a mistake as has been made by other important bodies, public and private.) Consider the results upon the prosperity of the people. And consider the effects upon the government and the Committee. If, for instance, any committee could be charged with responsibility for the present depression, do you think that said committee would still be in office — or in natural life?

It is scarcely worth while to get excited about the infirmities of this planning board scheme, as it has not a Chinaman's chance of getting to first base in the next twenty years. However, we might as well put labels on some of the things we are talking about so people will know their real names. A planned economy, under any sort of official direction, would mean the end of Western civilization. It would mean the end of such vestiges of individual initiative in business as remain in our merged and trusticated country. It would mean the end of banking, private credit, and speculative profits of all kinds. It would mean the ultimate death of property rights.

Reforms and changes in truth there need to be. But do we need to embrace all these formulas so utterly foreign to our traditions? If, so be, Western culture is to die out, why not let it die decently in its own bed rather than crawl in its old age to an alien brothel to gasp its last on the shoulder of an unknown mistress?

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What We Need

Nations do not evolve by repudiating their birthright but by defending it. It is conservation of our basic institutions and amelioration of abuses that we need, not a leveling of barriers and a wholesale migration to new pastures. We are about to pass through a period in which attacks on the settled order will be vicious and determined. We need to take steps to preserve and strengthen our authentic systems of industry, credit, and speculation while alleviating distress and suppressing irregularities.

Specifically we should make a decided stand to preserve the international gold standard. Cheap money nostrums should be resolutely spurned. Coöperation of central banks should be encouraged. War debts and reparations should be reduced or abrogated and tariffs moderated to halt the concentration of gold in the United States and France. To the same end considerable losses on private investments abroad will have to be recognized and written off — for there will be many defaults on bond interest.

Attacks upon commodity and security speculation should be headed off while abuses connected with the exchanges should be ruthlessly stamped out. Certain phases of banking and investment should be subjected to additional safeguarding restrictions. And certain other changes looking toward more economical use of our banking reserves should be considered. Speculative activities will be relatively quiescent for some years but the aftermath of our last speculative debauch will require attention for some time to come.

In industry the five-day week and six-hour day should be adopted. Wages in many — perhaps most — cases should be reduced in order to cut costs, permit progressive lowering of prices, and speed up our industrial operations. Some of the more piratical trade unions ought to be busted or at least badly jarred. We need a holiday in the installation of machinery. More and more expensive machinery increases the overhead and entails a costly burden of interest when it is idle. Our present plant is modern and overample. Industry will do well to bend its efforts to utilizing what it has rather than trying eternally for something new and more efficient.

In public affairs we need provision of unemployment relief without recourse to government doles. We need suppression of crime, graft, and rackets. The wide world needs reduction of armaments, which we should use our power of debt remission to impose. Many will say we need an end to prohibition. I think not. The trouble with liquor in America is not so much liquor as it is the American people. We can't have rum without debauching ourselves and we can't give it up without debauching ourselves. It is either the saloon or prohibition. They are equally bad and it matters not which we have until and unless, especially unless, we get over that tendency to run everything into the ground, which makes us commercialize every sport and universalize every vice.

Whether the "plan" outlined in the foregoing can succeed, I do not know. The centrifugal forces in our system may become so great in the next twenty or thirty years as to tear it apart. The countries of Western Europe, at least, seem destined to decline. They will gravitate more and more toward socialism, if not communism. The United States, with its enormous resources and vitality, will probably pull through. New problems, as yet entirely undefined, will arise in our relations with Russia and with the Orient — India and China in particular. Our own domestic order will naturally evolve, it is likely, toward some form of guild socialism or syndicalism — perhaps resembling in basic outlines what Professor Beard describes in his Plan. [See The Forum for July 1931.] Before the end of our allotted period there is grave reason to fear that everything will be disrupted by another world war.

If in the meantime it will please anybody, let us by all means have our planning board. Should anything happen to the Farm Board we would be very lonesome without some group authorized to blunder around and waste money by the hundred million. But let it be amply and repeatedly specified in the act that said planning board shall have no powers whatever. As a further precaution I would suggest that all the members be illiterate deaf mutes resident in the mountain fastnesses of eastern Tennessee and that they never be notified of their appointment. In this way I think we shall assure a reasonable measure of success in the venture.

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The Worthy Use of Leisure

Drawings by Barney Tobey

by **LAWRENCE H. CONRAD**

We are told by educators and by social workers that one of the most valiant aims of all our striving is that we may put to worthy use the leisure we secure — the leisure at the end of a day's work, at the end of a lifetime of work. The doctrine is taught in all our schools; it is the whole point and purpose of Americanization work with foreign-born groups; it is the motivation of gospel missions in the slums. Little by little we have all been drawn into it, for it has been at the heart of our educational program since first adopted by the National Education Association in 1918. No one has cried out against it; no one has rebelled. Yet it ought to be apparent that the moment leisure is put to any really worthy use, it is no longer leisure; and that what has been happening is that every last trace of what was once leisure has been swept away from us. It has all been converted to other uses.

Both in the assumption upon which it is based, and in the administration of the program during these twelve years, the worthy-use-of-leisure movement has driven us toward grave dangers. Because of the publicity given to this doctrine, we have come to assume that leisure, unused, is itself an unworthy thing. And because of the zeal of those who prosecute the case against leisure, all our "spare time" has been subject to endless exploitation. It should not be difficult for us to see how many of the disadvantages of modern life flow directly out of our blind faith in this one slogan.

Something has been happening in the twentieth century that is, we all believe, for the benefit of humanity. Working hours have grown shorter and shorter. The arguments in favor of shorter hours stressed the need for recreation and, more than that, for relaxation, in order that life might be pleasanter and more enjoyable for the worker. We were all of us ready to vote for shorter hours on that ground. Even the employers of labor came to see that hours should be cut down in the interest of industrial efficiency. Leisure, we thought, is a good thing. Surely, let us have more leisure. Civilization, we thought, is steadily winning. Man has perfected machinery to do his hard work, and now at last humanity will take its ease for a part of each day — in the daylight, when the sun is shining. I wish we might get back into that frame of mind now, so as to recall with what delight we looked forward to peace, rest, freedom from compulsions.

But wait! At just that moment, another crowd came along and said: "Get up and get busy. Did you think you could *be idle* during this rest period? Not at all. The factory is closed; we have let you out from there. But we have work for you to do. You must take piano lessons, or start a stamp collection, or read the book of the month, or attend a lecture. This is for your own good." The poor workman, bewildered by this Indian-giving, sighed, and let his leisure go. After all, it *was* too good to be true!

Is there no one, then, who will say a word for leisure in and of itself? For leisure that is inactive — that is just plain vagrancy? Why, some vice-president could make himself famous by saying that what this country needs is a darned good rest. Nowhere is a rest more strikingly needed than in that very group which is charged with carrying out the anti-leisure

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propaganda, namely, the school teachers. For their lives are so harried with purposeful activity that they go about drunk with fatigue and starved for moments of care-free, unalloyed leisure. A professor of my acquaintance needs nothing so much as a long, long afternoon sitting in the kitchen in his shirt sleeves, with his feet in the oven. There's virtue in such an exercise! Our Yankee forebears concocted all of their famous shrewdness while sitting in front of the kitchen range in their stocking feet.

"Ah, but a change of employment is relaxing," the educators tell us. They have worked it out scientifically, on a research foundation supported by big business. We have no scientific data with which to refute theirs. But we know that a change of employment is nowhere near so relaxing as a good, solid rest. We can feel it in our bones! The worthy-use-of-leisure movement turns us from one kind of work to another kind of work; but it is all work. Otherwise it wouldn't be called worthy. Remember the woman in Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt," who went on, day in, day out, sewing.

"Band and gusset and seam,
Seam and gusset and band."

The poem stands as the epitome of drudgery. And yet, how relaxing! she turned from one kind of work to another kind. What recreation! It was not all bands, mind you. Just as she grew tired of bands, along came the gussets; and after that the seams.

So goes modern life. Our educational leaders would march us from the factory to the public library, then on through the art museum and the lecture hall, and on to our night school classes, then home to our book-of-the-month. And so to bed. So strong a prejudice has been aroused against standing still or sitting still that we have all of us come to the place where we start guiltily when we are discovered doing nothing. "What! No tools in your hands? You ought to be ashamed!" And we *are* ashamed. But why should we be?

In a world really civilized and pleased at being so, we should feel some pride at being now and again unemployed. Are we not living in that future toward which our ancestors dreamed and yearned? Has not man slain the wild beasts and conquered the earth, the sea, and the sky? Then he should go like a conqueror, with a victorious lift of the head. He should be able to sit down, now and again, and take his ease. He should call his soul his own. But instead, he is harried and shaken and neurotic. He submits to the stern discipline of a propaganda that looks out at him from every pair of eyes he meets. The leisure that has been earned by the sweat and blood of generations seeps back into the earth and does no one any good.

Unless human beings can feel free to explore their leisure as individuals, each one finding in it his own most gratifying compensation for a life of toil, then there is no good in the fevered striving by which it was earned, and there is no use in our trying to increase it for posterity. It is right here that we have our second quarrel with the doctrine of worthy use. For the word "worthy" is subject to interpretation by whatever group is in the saddle at the moment, and by means of it we can all be driven in herds, now this way, now that. Of every impulse that offers itself we have to ask whether it is a worthy thing — not in terms of the value we set upon it, but in terms of the value set upon it by our supervising force. If you want to go out into the woods and fields just to loaf, you have to take along a dog and a gun. Once you get out of town, you can shoot the dog and throw the gun away. But you'd better not come back until after dark.

We blame our supervising force, also, for being unoriginal and unprogressive in the matter of the activities that are approved as worthy. Month after month we go the rounds of library, museum, aquarium, zoo, and month after month we fill up on the approved books. We attend our health lectures and our evening classes in personality development. After twelve years of it, we find we are filling our heads with vain repetitions. We are not becom-

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ing any better able to appreciate life, and the life we are living is not any greater or fuller than before. As a people, we grow disaffected and sour. Standing in front of the polar bear cage for the hundredth time, or in front of "Fifteenth Century Knight in Armor," we turn the thing over in our minds. Somehow we have a feeling that, left to ourselves, we could figure out a better way to spend our time.

Thus in the greatest country in the world we grow nerve-wracked with the strain of purposeful activity, with the constant effort to be worthily engaged. Socrates, lounging at a street-corner, would be beneath our contempt. Wordsworth, strolling among the lakes, would be scorned by his neighbors. Lincoln, sitting on a cracker barrel in a country store, would be given something important to do. Something that has been of inestimable benefit to the human race is being smothered. Daydreaming has become a grievous sin. Dawdling, which is one of the sweetest of all human pastimes, has been blotted out. You never see a whittler in these days, just plain whittling. It must be that they tried to force him to make something, and that he cut out whittling altogether. So have we all restrained in ourselves all far dreaming, all exercises of the fancy that do not lead to something so immediate and so obvious that our neighbors can see its purpose even from their windows.

It is the things that grow out of far dreaming that are in reality worthiest. But if we are required to prove, in all stages of everything we do, that the time is worthily spent, then we shall have to abandon everything that is closest to our most heartfelt yearning. We shall have to abandon the one really worthy reward of labor.

It is not by law that our leisure has been swept away, but by mere proclamation which did not have that intent behind it. Those who launched the doctrine did not realize then, and do not know now, that it is from drowsy, disconnected, inefficient simmering that the greatest benefits to humanity have come. They forget that man invented machinery so as to get out of working. They did not consider that a state of eternal peace and serenity is the ideal of every religion in the world. They were ashamed to confess to each other that what each one of them wanted was to be left alone for a little while each day. All the rest of us have shared their timidity, and have submitted to the hue and cry of their doctrine.

In doing so, we are self-cheated. We do not need to follow the dictates of this proclamation. Its advocates themselves are so fatigued with ceaseless vigilance in its behalf that a little show of personal force would overthrow them. They are not an enemy group; they are our neighbors. They are not crusaders, but just good citizens trying to use up their leisure time — worthily. If any considerable group of us were to show a recalcitrant spirit, we could stop the whole procession.

Then we might be able to resume our march toward the benefits of civilization. Let's see; where did we leave off? Oh, yes. We had invented machinery to do our hard work, so that we could have leisure. Our progenitors for thousands of years had yearned toward that moment. The leisure they pictured was not a turning from band to gusset and from gusset to seam. It was unalloyed leisure, freedom from compulsion. What they had in mind was a shedding of the ball and chain; a liberation of the fancy of humanity; a surging up of dreams and visions. They pictured man, the conqueror, searching time and space for the signs of his further destiny. And they pictured him finding more than he has so far found to compensate his efforts.

We can take, now, what the labors and the lives of our ancestors have won for us. For every individual who wants to claim it, the dream of the centuries has come true. The efforts of the human race for thousands of years have won for us a little bit of real leisure. Converting that hard-won leisure back into efficiency and compulsion and work is a betrayal of trust. Leisure is not leisure if you *use* it; leisure is to be *spent*. In the spending, you cannot possibly please everybody. Your own taste can best suggest to you pleasant and graceful ways of taking your ease.

No two of us would be quite alike in our taste for leisure. Each person would have his own separate mode of vagrancy. Should each individual follow his own bent and take his own special kind of reward for labor, our whole social order might come to be sprinkled through once more with that most priceless element the world has ever lost — namely, *interesting human beings*.

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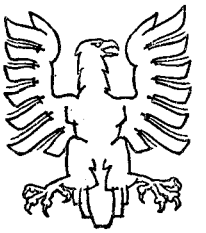
New Parties for Old



by **EDWARD M. SAIT**

It has been said of Sir Thomas Browne that, though royalist in sympathy, he was the most practicable of partisans. The furious struggle between Cavalier and Roundhead never disturbed his serenity. When the Civil War was at its height, he published *Religio Medici;* when the royalist armies had been crushed, he set forth the result of his inquiry as to whether swans sing before they die and whether the right and left legs of badgers are equally long; and when the Stuart cause revived with the death of Cromwell, he meditated upon cinerary urns and "the elegant coördination of vegetables."

Has not the American voter, in the post-war period, borrowed a little of Sir Thomas Browne's detachment? The party fight goes on, but leaves him cold. Campaign issues are solemnly propounded for his benefit, but he turns away with a gesture of weariness. Perhaps he has reached the conclusion that the battles are sham battles and that the opposing forces, though conveniently distinguished by badges, are preoccupied with nothing more momentous than questions of strategy. He has become at once indifferent and suspicious. "I have never known so little party spirit among the people," says Senator Borah. "The people are more and more voting for individuals and less and less for parties. I venture the opinion that there will be political chaos in 1932." Those who still wear the party badge often treat it lightly. Senator Brookhart, for example, is quite willing to coöperate with the Democrats, if only they will accept his program of farm relief.

Now indifference, being a negative attitude, is also a receptive one. Indifference is vacancy; and vacancy invites occupation. When old convictions have moved out, new convictions readily move in. In fact, the political scene of to-day is one that may be transformed to-morrow by the sudden emergence of new issues, the rise of corresponding antagonisms in the community, and the restoration of a robust partisanship. We have been passing through a period of quietism, not unlike the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars. Political life has been sluggish. It has scarcely felt the pressure of social and economic changes that must soon insist upon recognition.

But this immobility — if historical analogies have any meaning — marks a recuperative process and affords a means of accumulating fresh energy and preparing for an aggressive forward movement. Is 1830 forgotten? Already, as we look toward Latin America or toward Europe or toward the Orient, we encounter a haze of volcanic smoke. The smoke is far away, of course; our country will not flow with molten revolutionary lava! But can we hope to escape such mild seismic tremors as will shake us out of political apathy and perhaps reduce our venerable parties to a shapeless heap of ruin?

Some observers, even now, profess to see nothing but a shapeless heap. Without the shock of an earthquake the parties have already succumbed. What remains and goes by the name of party, we are told, has only archaeological significance; and the time has arrived for evacuation in the hope of finding among the rubbish some solid materials for the erection of a new structure. This point of view is

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expressed frequently and boldly in our magazines. I may be pardoned, however, for asking whether it rests upon established fact or upon wishful assumption. Experience in similar circumstances has made me skeptical. Years ago, when a committee undertook to reform county government in New York, the very first meeting revealed the fact that only one member had any prolonged first-hand acquaintance with county government and that he saw very little that needed reforming. He asked for proofs instead of assumptions. In the same way the question of a new party alignment should not be brought forward until the bankruptcy of the existing party alignment has been established.

The most familiar ground of complaint against the major parties is their likeness. They resemble each other both in what they put into their platforms and in what they leave out. They offer the electorate no distinct alternatives of principle or policy and show a marked reluctance to commit themselves upon new issues like prohibition and power control. It is my purpose not to dispute the existence of these peculiarities, but rather to explain and perhaps, in some measure, justify them.

The platform, like any other commodity, is manufactured in order to be sold. The skillful engineers who design it (for mass production) consult the popular taste and measure success in terms of votes on election day. Their task is somewhat complicated; for they must keep in mind, as it were, the requirements of both the domestic and the foreign market. Each party, being a combination of sectional interest groups, enjoys an advantage over the other party in certain areas of the country which may be likened to the protected domestic market of the manufacturer. These areas are (or should be) sufficiently homogeneous to agree upon a common platform, but the agreement can be reached only by mutual concessions and the toning down of extravagant claims.

This is the first stage of compromise. A second follows. Just as the manufacturer may depend upon the foreign market for his profits, so the party ships its platform into the doubtful states — the states lying outside both party combinations — and, in sharp competition with its adversary, tries to pick up the additional votes that will give it a majority in the electoral college. Ultimately, therefore, the platform must not only harmonize conflicting sectional interests within the party combination, but also adjust itself, by a further process of dilution, to the peculiar interests of the doubtful states. In a country of such size and such economic diversity the search for a formula that will be acceptable to a majority of voters involves the abandonment of some issues and the evasion of others; for the party can submit no question that is not as likely to be answered, now or in the near future, by a "yes" as by a "no."

If Republican and Democratic platforms resemble each other, they do so primarily because they reflect the prevailing vulgar taste, as shrewd politicians interpret it. Such likeness is not due to a bi-partisan conspiracy of silence. Competing politicians, like competing manufacturers, are always sensitive to changes in taste and will give their products a distinctive quality whenever they see a good prospect of increasing the volume of sales. But the prospect must be really good; and as a matter of fact it seldom is.

By trying to satisfy the many, however, the two parties incur the resentment of the few. Disgruntled minorities, propaganda organizations of one kind or another, occupational or sectional groups whose special interests have been slighted make vehement protest. But what are they protesting against? The fundamental postulate of democracy, which the process of platform-making illustrates, requires government for the greatest good of the greatest number. That the major parties have succeeded, on the whole, in gauging and serving the popular will is proved (apparently) by their survival, in the face of schismatic movements, over so long a period. Likewise, it is proved by the poor showing of four or five minor parties in each successive presidential election. The popular vote looks, indeed, very much like a vote of confidence in the major parties. How often it happens that what was assumed to be numbers turns out to be nothing but noise!

But if the tendency toward likeness is inevitable, the existing structure of the parties accentuates it. In their broad lines the party combinations date back to 1896. Can

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the grouping of sectional interests which was then convenient and perhaps adequate justify itself in the face of greatly modified conditions to-day? Both parties are notoriously split by faction. Within each of them the elements are so incompatible that conflict is more usual than coöperation and that common aims can be defined only in the most colorless and evasive language.

Democratic strength lies mainly in the South, which is native Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, agricultural, and dry; in certain metropolitan areas of the North, which are alien in stock, Catholic, industrial or commercial, and wet; and in the Mountain States, which have little affinity with either of the foregoing areas. Wisconsin is a Republican state, but so is Pennsylvania; Brookhart is a Republican senator, but so is Moses. Now that the control of the Republican party has passed to Eastern industrialists the farmers of the Middle West are chronically discontented and rebellious. It is doubtless true that the parties must always be composed of somewhat incongruous elements; but disharmony need not be intensified to the point of disintegration. *The advocates of realignment should rest their case first of all upon the fact that within each party heterogeneity is too pronounced.*

In the second place sectionalism is too pronounced. Sectional a major party must be in the sense that it originates as a sort of federation of localized interests; for the strategy of a presidential campaign must rest upon individual states or (more often) groups of states and consequently upon the interests that are concentrated there. The history of Federalists and Whigs, of Democrats and Republicans confirms this observation. But to say that the party must have a sectional basis does not mean that its sectional preponderance should approximate monopoly. It does not mean that the situation now prevailing over a considerable part of the Union can be regarded with equanimity.

The Solid South has been, since the era of Reconstruction, an exclusive Democratic preserve. There are many Northern and Western states, like California or Wisconsin or Vermont, where the Democratic party has either disappeared or ceased to be a serious factor in local politics. The Democrats, being hopelessly outnumbered, invade the Republican primaries, identify themselves with one of the warring factions, and in time forget that they ever were Democrats. They strengthen and embitter the factionalism which made the strategy of intervention practicable; and thus the Republican party, because of its overwhelming preponderance in certain sections of the country, tends still more to lose its national character and to split into fragments that have little in common except the name. It is in the one-party states that a redistribution of political forces would have the most beneficent effect.

The existing party alignment reveals a third capital weakness. *Republican superiority in national politics is too secure and too pronounced.* It began with the Bryan campaign of 1896. For the preceding twenty years the Democrats had fought on something better than even terms; they not only dominated the Solid South and the (then) five border states, but could count upon strong support in most of the other states that lie east of the Mississippi. But the breaking-up and revamping of the party combinations in 1896 proved disastrous. While Bryan held the Solid South, of course, he lost three of the border states and the seven other states that Cleveland had won east of the Mississippi — traded them off, one might say, for western territory upon which his momentary grasp relaxed in later elections. Thereafter — except during the interlude of the Republican schism and the Wilson administrations — the Democratic party has steadily been driven back upon the Solid South. Outside of that region it won only Kentucky in 1920; only Tennessee and Oklahoma in 1924. And at last, in 1928, even the Solid South began to crumble.

An analysis of the Congressional elections from 1920 to 1930 (inclusive) produces a similar, if somewhat less tragic, picture. Looking at each state in turn and for the whole period, we find that the Republicans showed their superiority everywhere except in the states of the Solid South, the border states, and Arizona and New Mexico; and that they won all the seats in seven states and eighty per cent or more in fourteen other states. The elections of 1930, which left the question of party control in both houses uncertain, indicated a rather low Democratic vitality. The severe business depression, the waning popularity of the administration, and various other factors should have given the Democrats a crushing victory.

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Under very much the same circumstances, in 1894, the Republicans not only won the House but turned a Democratic plurality of 91 into a Republican plurality of 139. Why should similar conditions produce such disparate results? Is it because the Democratic party — rent by internal disputes, permeated by the psychology of defeat, lacking principles, lacking leadership, and schooled in the tactics of opportunism — fails to inspire the necessary public confidence?

Whatever the cause may be, the party has long displayed a corpselike pallor. Indeed, its constitutional weakness became apparent soon after it swallowed the Populist mixture in 1896. Its startling loss of weight will be explained if the vote of 1896 be compared with the vote of the preceding five presidential elections in the manufacturing and commercial centers of New England and the Middle States. To-day a powerful and perhaps dominant faction believes that the party can be rescued from the grave with the help of the business interests which Tilden and Cleveland found so useful and which Bryan rudely shoved aside. Two years ago the shift on the tariff issue and the bold stand against prohibition brought victory in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Will similar tactics two years from now bring victory in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut or even in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio? What Mr. Raskob and Mr. Shouse contemplate, it seems, is a return to the *status quo ante* Bryan by means of an invasion and recapture of Republican territory in the East. The consequences of this maneuver can scarcely be foreseen. It may end in a catastrophic failure and the final disruption of the Solid South, where the last of the Democrats would be interred. It may succeed, at least momentarily; and then we would have more trouble than ever in distinguishing the two parties because each would have the same big-business physiognomy.

The plan has its good points. It is primarily intended to revitalize the Democratic party, bring it abreast of the Republican party in voting strength, and so restore the balance in national politics. It will have the further effect (though limited geographically) of restoring the balance in state politics — of reducing Republican preponderance in the Central, Middle, and the New England States and Democratic preponderance in the Solid South. But the official policy of the two parties, being conservative, will perpetuate the discontent and factionalism, the heterogeneity, which contributes, more than anything else, to political incoherence. How far will the question of power control figure in the Raskob-Shouse plan? What rôle has been assigned to the insurgent farmer of the West and Middle West? The country will soon emerge, I believe, from the torpor of quietism and complacency; and when the wave of impatient radicalism breaks, Democratic and Republican engineers will find their formula for meeting strains and stresses inadequate and badly in need of revision.

A PARTY realignment is desirable and may be necessary. It is desirable because heterogeneity and sectionalism within each party and Republican preponderance in the nation are altogether too pronounced. It will be necessary if the existing party combinations cannot adjust themselves to the issues which active social and economic forces will soon precipitate. Realignment involves one of two alternative courses: either the setting up of a new combination, new in fact and name; or else a modification of the existing party structure, more or less drastic according to the nature of the issues that have to be faced. Drastic modification would encounter almost insuperable difficulties, especially in the shape of vested interests, tradition, and inertia. It is easier to form a new party than to transform an old one.

The League for Independent Political Action is assembling mortar and brick (occasionally mere fragments of brick) for the foundations of a new party. Into its Cave of Adullam it is gathering everyone who is distressed and everyone who is discontented — Socialists and "economic liberals," "progressive elements" and "religious groups," Negroes and pacifists — and out of them organizing a movement of federated local discontents. The personnel of the League has been drawn mainly from the intelligentsia, whose political sagacity has never before been accorded such marks of respect; and as I read the list of literary men and college professors — not to speak of the

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bishops and rabbis and plain parsons, I am reminded of the German convention of 1848 and of the poet's commentary:

Drei hundert fünfzig professoren!
O Vaterland! Du bist verloren!

The platform, tentatively projected in advance of the party, does not quite escape eccentricity. It confuses liberalism with Socialism; and, while taking, in the name of liberalism, the fatal step of guaranteeing the political rights of the Negro, keeps strangely silent about prohibition, perhaps because of an episcopal or rabbinical interdict. Nor does this evasion, so reminiscent of the discredited major parties, stand alone. The most expansive declaration, which deals with the means of preserving peace, judiciously refrains from any mention of the World Court or the League of Nations.

In other cases, however, the professors and parsons show themselves quite innocent of political chicanery and even devoid of political sense. The Southern farmer is first seduced by the benevolent promise to foster cotton pools and then mortally offended by an undertaking to enforce the fifteenth amendment. Republicans have long since admitted that the amendment is dead. By denying a death certificate and trying to resuscitate the corpse the League not only shuts itself out from the Solid South, but also forfeits every claim to serious consideration.

The existence of the Solid South has blighted the political life of that area and of the nation for more than fifty years. No realignment of parties can be justified which fails to grapple with such an intolerable situation. At this time, when the South is being transformed by cotton mills and steel mills, by oil wells and power lines, by automobile roads and public schools; and when the generations that lived through the horrors of Reconstruction and still vividly recalls them is dying out, the way lies open to momentous political changes. But no party can invade the South and profit by the growing differentiation of interests there unless it promises to be as lily-white as the Democratic party.

The League is really moving along the trail that was blazed by third-party movements in 1912, 1920, and 1924. It envisages (according to one of its pamphlets) "mass organization of the hand and brain workers, the farmers' groups, and all who can no longer be satisfied with the old-party policies"; in other words, a farmer-labor party. Now, in some respects this venture seems to offer good hope of success. The farmers are discontented. They find themselves in a position of great economic distress and without any expectation of immediate relief. There are favors that the government could grant them in the way of easier credits, guaranteed bank deposits, reduced freight rates, reduced tariff rates, export debentures, and much besides. If they were united within a single party, they would dominate it. Divided as they now are between the two major parties, they can dominate neither one.

Nevertheless, in their present mood — which may, of course, undergo temperamental fluctuations in the future — they look somewhat coldly upon the invitation to join a farmer-labor party; and they do so for a variety of reasons. They recall, for example, how adventures of the same kind have failed in the past. Experience has taught them that their interests can be advanced more easily and more certainly by forming combinations in the House and Senate. Moreover, the agrarian class lacks solidarity. The typical farmer has little more reality than the economic man. There are so many different kinds of farmers and the variation rests upon so many different grounds that a census would be out of place here. The political viewpoint may be determined by the nature of the crop or by the geographical location of the farm. As I shall indicate in a moment, the agrarian class is likely to be more divided in the future than it has been in the past.

But, assuming that a considerable proportion of the farmers enroll under the League banner, can we expect a similar response from labor? Past experience gives a negative answer. After the counting of the votes, farmer-labor movements have all been revealed as farmer movements. America has no class-conscious proletariat in the Marxian sense; and the growth of one will be discouraged by the fact that the European background of social stratification is lacking here, that the immigrant is impressed with his advance in living standards, and that our employers have not only adopted a policy of high wages, but also have taken some tentative steps toward a partnership with labor by means of profit-sharing and stock-distribution.

The wage-earner refuses to regard himself

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as a wage-slave. Good evidence is found in the plight of the Socialist party and its apparent willingness to submerge itself in the futilities of the League for Independent Political Action. Moreover, why should the wage-earner coöperate with the farmer? The one wants cheap food; the other wants cheap tools and clothing. Of course, it may be said that the farmer — once a capitalist of sorts who extracted surplus value from his farm hands — is now being depressed into the exploited class by the appalling increase in mortgages, foreclosures, and tenancies. But that means that he is a man with grievances of his own rather than a man who loves industrial wage-slaves because he also is a slave. Even a spontaneous uprising of the Middle West in 1932, whatever the consequences to the major parties, would not bring into existence a farmer-labor combination that would be capable of dominating the national government.

ANY PROPOSED realignment should reflect the play of fundamental economic forces which the old parties cannot or will not recognize. From this standpoint a farmer-labor combination would be inadequate. The literature of the League, while speaking broadly of "the realities of American life," "present-day conditions," and "economic and industrial transformation," does not translate these general terms into the concrete or make them altogether intelligible in the declarations of its platform. What does an analysis of post-war tendencies reveal? The most obvious and most significant change that has occurred during the past fifteen years appears in a two-fold aspect. In the first place, the United States has evolved from a debtor nation into a great creditor nation, with war loans and foreign investments aggregating $28,000,000,000 or more. In the second place, the United States has become a great exporter of finished manufactures, these constituting in 1929 forty-seven per cent of all exports. We exported in that year machinery worth $613,000,000 and automobiles worth $539,000,000. American prosperity is now vitally and indissolubly connected with foreign trade and foreign investments.

Our new position as an exporter of surplus capital and manufactured goods will entail economic and political consequences of corresponding magnitude. If we export, we must also import. Foreign countries must pay for what they receive; and there can be no escape from the logic of a situation which will compel us to facilitate payment by tearing down our tariff walls. It is not a mere superficial analogy that we find in the situation of Great Britain a hundred years ago. The common factors are, to say the least, very striking; and what happened in Great Britain, so suddenly and so unexpectedly, may happen here too. The free trade agitation, which began in Manchester, home of the chief exporting industries, overcame prejudice and passion, conquered powerful interests, and accomplished its purpose within a space of less than ten years. Incidentally it broke up the old party alignment. Here the alignment may be broken up before the tariff question, in its new form, is sprung upon the country like the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854. If prohibition becomes the paramount issue in the next presidential campaign, it will go a long way toward dissolving the spell of partisan habit and inertia and establishing a political fluidity which will be favorable to a new orientation.

The demand for tariff reform will come, not from the farmers, but from the industrialists. The latter fall into various groups according to their divergent interests; and the most powerful distinct group is composed of the exporters. These exporters, speaking generally, do not need tariff protection because they excel foreign competitors in the technique of mass-production, in scientific management, and frequently in design. All of them are preoccupied with the foreign market because the smooth functioning of the industrial machine and the maintenance of prosperity requires an expansion of sales beyond the potentialities of domestic consumption. Some of them are actually dependent upon the foreign market because, for their products, the domestic market has reached the saturation point. But if they are to have a foreign market, then the United States itself must become a market for their customers. It is interesting to recall the protests of automobile manufacturers against the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill. It is still more interesting to learn that the tariff has latterly been the subject of debate within the steel industry and that a change of attitude has become manifest. When once this great industry swings into line, the stage will be set for the eloquence of a John Bright and the argumentative vigor of a Richard Cobden.

In some quarters the response will be automatic. Banking groups that are identified with foreign investments and all groups that draw their profits, in one way or another, from the operations of foreign trade will need no apostolic proselytism. They have been worshiping secretly in the catacombs. But when the industrial missionaries go into the agricultural areas, their status will be a little embarrassing; for they are the same missionaries who, formerly expounding the gospel of protection, persuaded the farmer that high tariffs were necessary to salvation.

One agrarian group will be disconverted easily enough. The wheat farmers, the cotton farmers, the tobacco farmers, and other farmers who produce a surplus crop and sell in the world market and at world prices can only be injured by protective tariffs; and some of them are already dimly aware of the fact. On the other hand, the farmers who can supply only a part of the domestic demand for such products as hides, sugar, wool, and flaxseed will remain impervious to propaganda, as will the dairymen along the Canadian border. The tariff issue, therefore, will divide both manufacturers and farmers. It will divide wage-earners also, their interests being bound up with the industries that give them employment. But some farmers and some wage-earners will find it hard to decide between their interests as producers and their interests as consumers.

A PERIOD of political perturbation lies ahead. Both parties will be split wide open by the controversy over the Eighteenth Amendment; and, because of agrarian discontent, the Republican party may be rent by schism in the Middle West. The storm will tear men loose from their traditional moorings and leave them floating around in confusion. Where will a safe anchorage be found? It seems to me that the impending chaos makes some realignment of parties inevitable and that the tariff issue, being set deep in the realities of our transformed economy, must determine its form. According to this view the Democrats made a grotesque mistake in shifting their position on the tariff. If they recant, subscribing once more to the principles of Cleveland's famous message, and take some moderate stand on the question of power control, an ancient and honorable name may be saved from extinction. But what survived would be the Democratic name rather than the Democratic party; for the tariff issue, in its new setting, will bring about a very marked redistribution of sectional interests.

In an early issue, "The Chances of a Liberal Party" by John T. Flynn

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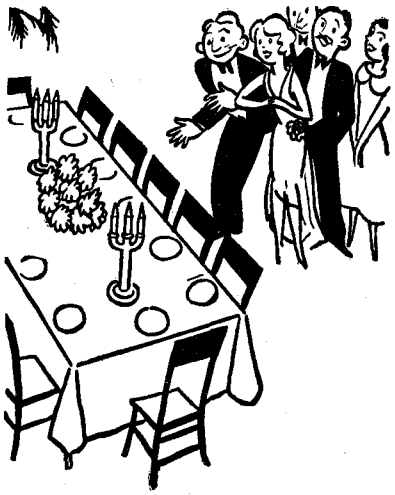

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UNITED HOTELS

These columns are open to brief letters commenting upon any article or subject that has appeared in The Forum. Because of space limitations, the Editor must reserve the right to publish letters only in part.

Upholds State Social Insurance

To the Editor:

John T. Flynn's article, "The Security Wage," (October FORUM) is impressive and sound. No one has more clearly exposed the futility of looking to "business" to solve a problem which it is not equipped to handle.

Even if business were more competently organized in this respect, is there any logical reason why the community should delegate to any one of its branches a question which involves the whole?

Unemployment is a public problem. As such it directly concerns the organized public — *i.e.*, the state. If the state will grapple with such vital community problems, it will have less time for the questions of private morals and *mores* which seem latterly to have usurped its legitimate functions.

BRONSON CUTTING
U. S. Senator from New Mexico

New York, N. Y.

Divide the Burden

To the Editor:

From an economic point of view I should preach unemployment *prevention* rather than insurance, just as I have preached accident prevention: accidents have been reduced, and the same can be accomplished in the unemployment situation by coöperation between state, public, employee, and employer. To select any one of these four groups and tax it with all the losses that might result from an unemployment calamity would be uneconomic, impractical, and unjust — as is Mr. Flynn's proposal.

The enlightened employer does not fear state coöperation — he pleads for it. Consider the efforts of Mr. Swope of the General Electric Company, or the proposition of the Eastman Company. I indorse their actions. I have always advocated old age pensions and sickness insurance and similar social systems, but to be sound they must be based on real coöperation between state, employer, and worker, and all three must contribute to the funds.

Incidentally, let me point out that even if the state is made guardian of a social insurance fund, the money is not necessarily 100% safe, as Mr. Flynn suggests. The German workers lost, through war inflation, all the vast sums which the state held for the social insurance groups.

F. CHARLES SCHWEDTMAN
Former vice-president of the National City Bank

New York, N. Y.

Mr. Pitkin Again

To the Editor:

The most serious doubts, or the biggest reasons for hesitation and circumspection, about Mr. Pitkin's proposal ("The Great Dirt Conspiracy," August FORUM) arise outside the strictly economic aspect. It has bearings beyond all points of engineering and financial technique. It leads to social considerations of the broadest scope; which may be appreciated if we will look toward the effects — primarily social and secondarily political — of raising and widening to such a degree the variations in density of population: confining human habitation almost entirely to metropolitan and large urban districts, and leaving the areas of basic production nearly depopulated. Our democracy was not evolved or organized on such a foundation. Mr. Pitkin's plan could hardly avoid a raw and roughening interaction with forces and institutions which, though human and not rigidly static, must remain deep-rooted and refractory.

PHILIP A. ROBINSON

Cambridge, Mass.

And Again . . .

To the Editor:

Farming is a unique business. Who by taking thought can add one cubit to his stature? And can even Mr. Pitkin raise two crops of wheat a year? On the fenceless plains of the West, large-scale production of wheat is a present fact. But wheat is only one of a score of major products of the farm, and one of the few amenable to such methods. Let Mr. Pitkin worship at the shrine of larger and larger business. I prefer to worship at the fireside of the prosperous family farm — enlarged, perhaps, from the antiquated one-man acreage, but saved, let us hope, from the menace of a lot of uninterested hired laborers supervised by and supporting too many bosses and too many corporation stockholders.

WENDELL S. CLAMPITT

New Providence, Ia.

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Our Rostrum

Protestants and Labor

To the Editor:

In his "Catholic or Protestant?" in the September FORUM, Jay Franklin says ". . . the Catholic Church has taken the popular side of the wage and labor controversy . . . and has left to the Protestants only the Wall Street side of the question." I do not dispute the Catholic attitude; but let me point out that Mr. Franklin is apparently unaware of the abundance of material poured out by Protestant organizations in favor of the laborer and against "Wall Street."

In its Labor Sunday message for this year, the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of Churches severely indicts in a frankly Socialistic tone the present social and economic order; it urges a more equable distribution of wealth in no uncertain terms. Also, an overwhelming number of pronouncements on hours of work, wages, child labor, employment of women, unemployment, *etc.*, have been made by Protestant denominations in the past decade. An analysis and index of these has been prepared by the Rev. F. Ernest Johnson of the Federal Council. One wonders if Mr. Franklin ever heard of it.

Furthermore, the "Social Creed" adopted by the Federal Council, and hence by most Protestant churches, stands for the protection of workers, suitable provision for their old age, upholds their right to organize, favors gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and more equitable division of the product of industry.

It is hardly fair to the Protestants to term the Catholics the exclusive champions of labor. The Protestants were working consistently for the labor cause long before Rome took to radio and press releases.

WAYNE W. PARRISH

New York, N. Y.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: — *The Forum's monthly prize of twenty dollars has been awarded to Mr. Parrish for his convincing counter-blast to Jay Franklin.*]

No Fooling, Please

To the Editor:

Your series of discussions on economic plans is the most courageous journalistic effort of the depression era. It makes little difference what the ultimate plan may be. Probably it will be a Beard-Franklin-Chase plan with a flavor of H. G. Wells and Stalin thrown in for spice. The point is that more and more of us are willing to lay open our minds on the subject of escape from economic servitude.

However, Mr. Franklin in his "U. S. Incorporated" (August FORUM) seems to underestimate our serious willingness to

GF

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Our Rostrum

have a try at thinking. His persistent larding of the discussion with journalistic persiflage detracted from the effectiveness of his argument. Just when we fancied we were coming to grips with his plan, we were invariably distracted by references to the Methodist Amendment, Cannonism, the G.A.R., or God and the Republican Party. Most of us have felt enough these past two years to be willing to listen without being regaled with breeziness.

This same misconception leads Mr. Franklin to the conclusion that if a plan is ever worked out it will have to be put over on the American people by a species of bunkum titled "Home and Mother" and high-pressured in the true American bandwagon tradition. Personally I believe that this attitude is pre-1929. We have settled down as much as the stock market. We do not listen to that music as we once did. Our taste veers toward economic facts. Why not start off with the assumption that the citizen is intelligent enough to grasp the elemental facts if properly informed? Preceding the installation of National Economic Commissions, Peace Industries Boards, or what have you, let the Federal Government extend its control over our unparalleled facilities for mass education — the press, the cinema, the radio, and the public schools — and inaugurate a policy of economic education.

CLAUDE W. NASH

Ironton, Ohio

Reporter-Philosopher

To the Editor:

My several years' enjoyment of THE FORUM reached a happy climax with the reading of Charles Walker's "Down and Out in Detroit" in the September issue. It is a masterpiece of clear observation, sound thinking, and fine writing. Mr. Walker, while seeing a problem and subtly suggesting ways to meet it, carries conviction by writing with the clarity of a star reporter and in the subdued tone of a thoughtful philosopher. Obviously the statements exerting the most influence come from a careful observer such as this one, rather than a harsh critic or rabid partisan. It is because of this "writing viewpoint" that the Walker article proves so thought-provoking.

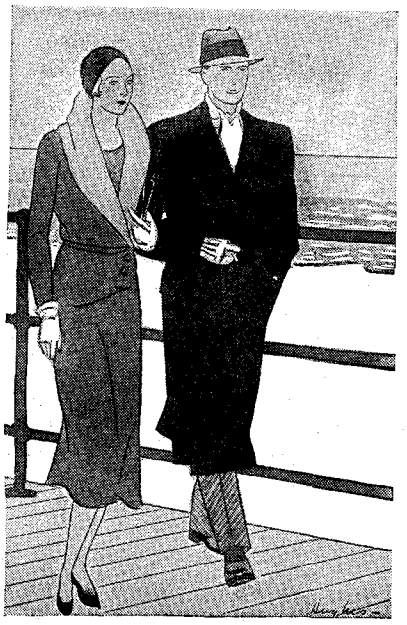
SIDNEY IVES III

Orlando, Fla.

Romantic-Infantilism Victim

To the Editor:

I wish there had been articles like Dr. Wolfe's ("Romance *vs.* Marriage," September FORUM) in magazines in 1921. There weren't. Love was written with a capital L in those pre-psychology days, sighed over, made the justification and excuse for all sorts of odd phenomena. There was great faith in the ultimate appearance of a Mr. Right, and an adenoidal



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Our Rostrum

Sir Galahad hung over numberless virginal beds.

So I muddled along and, after a glamorous courtship, married what I thought was Prince Charming. I was sure it all was a prelude to Paradise. Wasn't it exactly according to the fairy tale?

But the difference between Grimm life and grim life soon became apparent even to ignorant eyes. "Love" does not survive irreconcilable differences of temperament, social background, ideas of the relationship between man and woman. I had never been ridden with either curb or whip, and resented both. The result was a runaway — and one more divorce on the records.

It's not too late to learn. Straightforward statements like Dr. Wolfe's help us who grope. But I am still saying to myself: "If we choose a mate entirely according to reason, why wouldn't just *anyone* do? What shall we do about the illogical thing which draws us to some people, while, for all their virtues, others leave us cold? What is its place, and how can we put it there?"

Dr. Wolfe establishes his thesis: People marry for romantic love; such marriages are often unsuccessful: therefore people should marry for other reasons.

I should like to see an article on those other reasons.

ANONYMOUS

Baltimore, Md.

Skull and Bones . . .

To the Editor:

I was very much interested in the article ("Captain Kidd and the Astor Fortune," July FORUM) on the so-called Captain Kidd Cave on Deer Isle, Maine. The land on which this cave is situated has been owned for about twenty years past by my sister-in-law, Miss Suzanne Sawyer of Montclair, N. J., who bought it from Mr. Olmstead.

Two years ago, when Miss Sawyer and myself were both in Deer Isle, we found that some boys had decorated the cave with the name of Captain Kidd in large letters, accompanied by skull, crossbones, and other piratical symbols, all in white paint. There seemed to be no way of removing this, so we painted it over, choosing a color as nearly as possible like that of the surrounding rocks. Some day when this blanket of paint wears away and the white letters and symbols reappear, we shall probably have a revival of this interesting, and quite mythical, story.

ARTHUR E. BOSTWICK

St. Louis, Mo.

Van Loon's Blunder?

To the Editor:

Hendrik van Loon in "The Seven Blunders of the World" (September FORUM) says that Lincoln's successor, "poor, boozy Johnson, was a man of the plain people (very, very plain indeed)." The following excerpts from a review by Charles Willis Thompson (*New York Times Book Review*, March 18, 1928) of Robert W. Winston's *Andrew Johnson, Plebian and Patriot* give a rather different impression:

"For the first time, a full biography of the courageous and far-sighted statesman who was ruined for taking Lincoln's attitude toward the South has been made, and well made. The story is not a pleasant one; it is disgraceful, but none of the disgrace is Johnson's. When Lincoln was murdered the Radicals in Congress had already begun to take steps to fight him on his reconstruction policy . . . they counted on his successor's joining with them in their plans to treat the South as Cromwell treated Ireland. Instead, he took up the work Lincoln had laid down, and the batteries they had erected against Lincoln were trained on him. . . . Before Judge Winston's thorough search of original sources the legend of the rowdy, ruffianly Johnson must disappear. The testimony of friends and enemies alike is that he was dignified and pleasant in manner, extraordinarily correct in dress, and in all respects a gentleman."

Whatever faults Johnson may have had, there seems to be little question that he always put the interest of his country before his own interests and that he served it with remarkable courage and integrity.

MARY R. HOGE

Waynesburg, Pa.

Another Business Cycle

To the Editor:

W. B. Munro, in his "These 'United States,'" (September FORUM) says in regard to an organization of farmers and industrial workers that "such a permanent combination is virtually inconceivable because . . . the farmer's ambition is to keep the price of food stuffs up and the price of manufactured products down. The industrial worker wants this program turned end for end."

On the surface this might appear to be true, but deeper inquiry reveals another conclusion. The farmer is interested in all city workers (office and industrial) receiving the highest possible wages so that they will have a buying power which will enable them to buy the products of the farm at a fair price to the farmer. On the other hand, the city workers want the farmer to obtain the highest possible price for *his* products so that he will be able to buy the manufactured products which he needs at a fair price, thus giving employment to urban workers from this increased demand.

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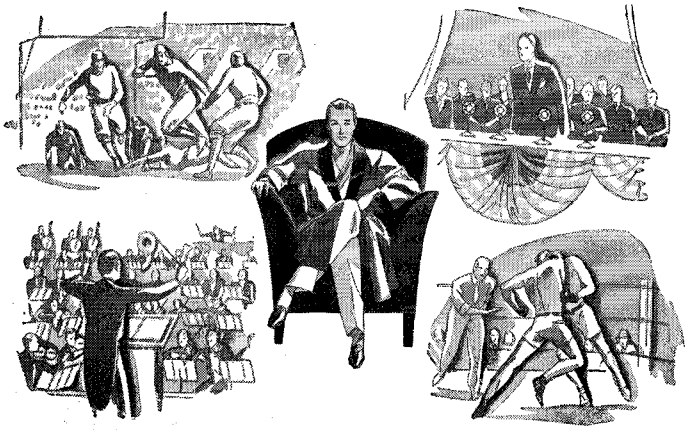

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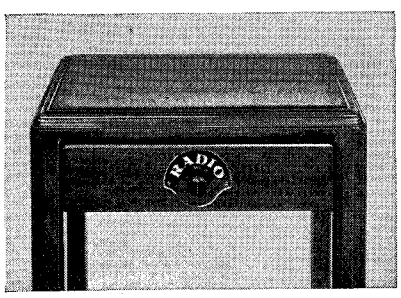

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in NEW YORK, *Hotel Pennsylvania*

TRAVEL NEWS

SEEING LITTLE AMERICA

THE Holland-America Line offers something new in world cruises which should interest those veteran travelers who have been everywhere and seen everything. The *Vollendam* will sail from New York on December 15 taking cruise passengers for the first time into the Antarctic to see Little America. Little America is the land made famous by Rear Admiral Richard Evelyn Byrd, who, two years ago, established there the headquarters and supply base of his expedition to the South Pole.

FROM PHILADELPHIA TO THE WEST INDIES

A SERIES of popular-priced cruises from Philadelphia to the West Indies is announced by the Hamburg-American Line for the coming winter. The *St. Louis*, largest German motorship, will make Philadelphia her home port from December to April. She is splendidly adapted to travel in the tropics because of the spaciousness and comfort of her passenger accommodations, which include an open-air swimming pool, sports deck, and veranda café. With this innovation of establishing a direct cruise service from Philadelphia to the West Indies, the Hamburg-American Line is reëntering the Philadelphia passenger service in coöperation with the city authorities and civic organizations, intent upon promoting the port of Philadelphia.

PLANE SERVICE IN ITALY

ABBAZIA, fashionable resort on the east coast of the Adriatic, can now be reached in an hour and a half by daily plane service from Venice. Planes leave Venice at 3:15 in the afternoon and arrive at Abbazia at 4:45. Tri-motored planes now cover the distance between Rome and Brindisi in three hours. At Brindisi, plane connections can be made for Athens and Rodi.

NEW THEATERS IN LONDON

VISITORS to London this winter will find two more theaters added to its ever growing list. The Windmill, in Windmill Street off Piccadilly Circus, has a seating capacity limited to approximately 350 people. *Inquest*, by Michael Barringer, was produced for its opening. The Saville, a more spacious playhouse near Cambridge Circus in Shaftesbury Avenue, ranks as one of the best theaters in London, and has been designed for the production of large plays and musical comedies on a lavish scale. An uninterrupted view of the stage is obtainable from every seat in the house.

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"I'll see it through if you will!"

"THEY tell me there's five or six million of us — out of jobs.

"I know that's not your fault, any more than it is mine.

"But that doesn't change the fact that some of us right now are in a pretty tough spot — with families to worry about — and a workless winter ahead.

"Understand, we're not begging. We'd rather have a job than anything else you can give us.

"We're not scared, either. If you think the good old U. S. A. is in a bad way more than temporarily, just try to figure out some other place you'd rather be.

"But, until times do loosen up, we've got to have a little help.

"So I'm asking *you* to give us a lift, just as I would give one to you if I stood in your shoes and you in mine.

"Now don't send me any money — that isn't the idea. Don't even send any to the Committee which signs this appeal.

"The best way to help us is to give as generously as you can to your local welfare and charity organizations, your community chest or your emergency relief committee if you have one.

"That's my story, the rest is up to you.

"I'll see it through — if *you* will!"

—Unemployed, 1931

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Walter S. Gifford
Director

COMMITTEE ON MOBILIZATION OF RELIEF RESOURCES

Owen D. Young
Chairman

The President's Organization on Unemployment Relief is non-political and non-sectarian. Its purpose is to aid local welfare and relief agencies everywhere to provide for local needs. All facilities for the nation-wide program, including this advertisement, have been furnished to the Committee without cost.

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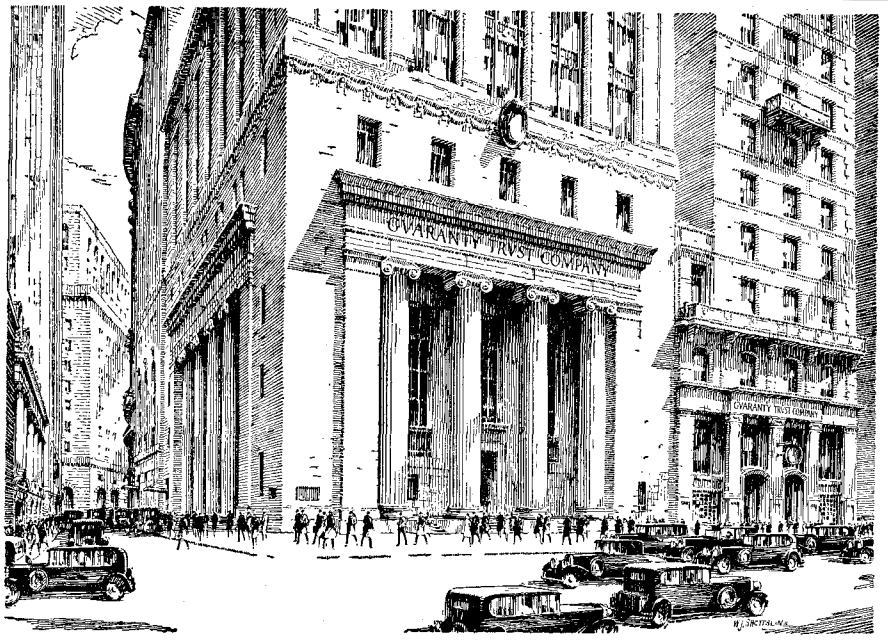

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DOWNTOWN

Dealing with the Depression

by **DONALD REA HANSON**

TWO YEARS of stark depression have elapsed without a single noteworthy achievement in the direction of eliminating the basic causes of the dismal plight of world business. Captains of industry, employed men in the middle classes, and unemployed persons in all classes are standing by supinely and glibly discussing the prospects for a recovery in business with a singular lack of incentive on all sides to do anything about it. Such talk manifests a supreme faith in the business cycle theory, a theory which most people believed had ceased to exist two short years ago, since it assumes that given time enough business is going to recover of its own accord. We may concede that a certain amount of recovery may ensue without any particularly brilliant achievement in human effort, through sheer exhaustion of the forces of depression and through the accumulation of deferred demand for goods; but we cannot concede that full recovery to a normal healthy state of world business is going to occur until some fundamental causes of the depression are dragged up by the roots.

Last August the Wiggin committee, appointed by the "banking nations," issued a report at Basle that directed attention to one of the fundamental causes of the depression in these words: "In recent years the world has been endeavoring to pursue two contradictory policies in permitting the development of an international financial system which involves the annual payment of large sums by creditor countries, while at the same time putting obstacles in the way of free movement of goods." We may gather a better view of the problem when we consider that in the past seven years, every dollar that Germany has paid in reparations can be accounted for, with something to spare, in borrowings from American investors. In effect this was merely robbing Peter to pay Paul. It was shifting the burden of ultimately collecting reparations from the treasuries of the victorious nations of the war to private investors. In theory Germany was required to settle the reparations account by shipping goods in payment. To receive German goods meant competition with domestic production, and one nation after the other, following the leadership of the United States, promptly erected as high a tariff wall as it consistently could. This in effect partially closed the door to payments in goods. No other option was left but to borrow to pay.

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with the inevitable consequence that when the depression made it impossible to float any more German loans in this country or elsewhere the entire system broke down. President Hoover went to the root of the matter when he proposed a year's suspension of reparation payments by Germany and at the same time suspension of the war debts of Allied nations to the United States, but he has merely offered a year's respite. Four months have elapsed meanwhile and the nations of the world are no closer to the eradication of this root of the present world distress than they were in June. It is not surprising that one of the largest banks in the country comments with despair: "If nothing is done the world will be in danger of a more difficult situation in July 1932 than it was in June when the moratorium was first proposed."

CONTROLLING PRODUCTION

WHETHER overproduction or underconsumption is the cause of the distressing situation in the leading commodity markets would be difficult to determine. But the fact remains that the principal staples of the world are glutting the markets. In 1929, when there was not the slightest need of artificial support for agricultural products, the United States Government appointed a Farm Board, supplied it with abundant funds, and provided it with discretionary power to support the principal markets by purchasing for Government account. But prices went to pieces just the same. The Farm Board issued a warning to farmers to cut down their production of wheat and cotton, but to no avail. And the 1931 crop of wheat promises to be as large as ever, with a bumper cotton crop in prospect. It might have been thought that this experiment in price fixing would deal a mortal blow to the widely prevalent idea that the Government is powerful enough to suspend the operation of an economic law; but there are indications of new manoeuvres. This time the State proposes to check overproduction. Bayonet economics managed to drive the price of oil up when East Texas fields were flooding the markets; why not try it in cotton? Accordingly it is proposed to prohibit farmers from planting a large share of their cotton acreage next year. At least this is an approach to the fundamental problem, but it makes no allowance for the possibility that foreign oil producers and cotton planters may make up any shortage that might develop in this country. The logical cure for overproduction is to be found in price alone. If prices fall low enough the incentive to produce will disappear. Present policies simply contemplate further interference with the law of supply and demand, which will only defer the issue.

BY LANTERN LIGHT THE CITIZENS WORKED FRANTICALLY WITH PICK AND SHOVEL

In 1814 British armies were winning victories everywhere. Fortifications were hastily thrown up around New York. ¶ At McGowan's Pass (near 106th Street and Central Park West) special brigades of mechanics, clerks and tradesmen worked day and night with picks and shovels. ¶ During these perilous times the Bank of New York donated money for the defense of the City and loaned the Corporation one hundred thousand dollars.

THE facilities and personnel of this institution are highly specialized in conformity with modern banking practice and are thoroughly developed for the most effective management of trust funds.

Its Trust Department, continuously operated for more than one hundred years, is completely equipped to care for the largest estates and trusts as well as for those of moderate size.

Accumulated strength of resources and breadth of experience in Commercial Banking and trusteeships may be credited to the personal interest which this bank has always taken in business entrusted to it.

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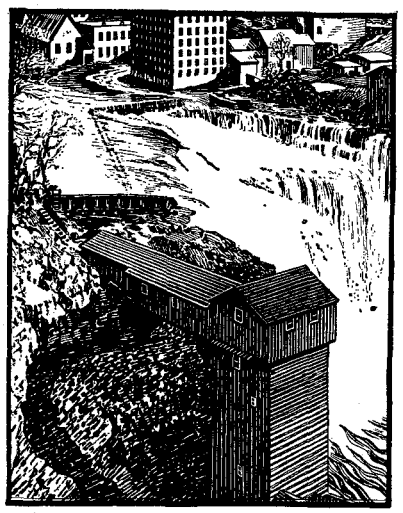
at Dawn with the Electric Industry



1882—Electric Plant at Genesee River, Rochester, N. Y.

In 1880, two years before Edison started his famous Pearl Street Station in New York, the Rochester Electric Light Company was supplying arc light service in Rochester, New York. This company, which has since become part of the Associated System, had to string wires between buildings as poles had not yet come into use.

Other Associated properties that started at dawn with the electric industry include those serving:

Reading, Pa.	**1883**
New Bedford, Mass.	**1883**
Binghamton, N. Y.	**1884**
Johnstown, Pa. . .	**1885**
Cambridge, Mass. .	**1886**
Hornell, N. Y. . .	**1886**

Associated electric companies, seasoned in service, are participating in the rapid growth of the industry, an expansion that promises to double electric output in the next decade.

To invest, or for information, write

Associated Gas and Electric System

61 Broadway New York

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

NOTICE of a change of address, to be effective with the December issue of FORUM must reach the Subscription Department by October 31.

The Post Office does not forward magazines, including FORUM, which are mailed under the Second Class Rate of Postage.

Please give your former address when advising the Subscription Department of your new.

Downtown

TRUCKS VS. RAILROADS

Evasion of the real issue appears also to have been followed in the case of the railroads. All carriers have joined the case for a general advance of 15 per cent in freight rates. The present poverty of the carriers is primarily due to lack of traffic, and it seems inconsistent to discourage shippers further by advancing the cost of shipping by rail. The real issue is the wage question. Trucks are taking business away from the railroads. If it is cheaper to ship by truck than by rail it is because the truck can operate at a lower cost. If the truck operates at a lower cost it is generally because wages are lower. Wages of railroad men and truckmen are thereby brought into competition with each other. Maintaining railroad wages at an artificial level means less use of rail facilities and less work for railroad labor. If the Interstate Commerce Commission advances freight rates the railroads will not be in a position to bargain advantageously with labor for lower wage scales. Accordingly the manoeuvre of railroad executives in 1931 bids fair to ease them out of a tactical position where the basic cause of lean earning power can be removed.

ECONOMY AND TAXATION

Economy in municipal, state, and Government expenditures is another prerequisite of revival in business. The sun has set on the day when rising expenditures can be met by increasing taxes. Prices are lower for everything, including real estate, and raising assessments and increasing taxes is adding a straw that will break the camel's back. The system of taxing profits has broken down because there are no profits to tax, although something may be said for the sales tax, which has functioned well as applied to gasoline. Clearly the present system of taxation in this country presupposes a basis of perpetual prosperity; in depression it fails to yield revenue, shifts the burden toward real estate, and encourages the vicious practice of borrowing by municipalities, states, and the Government to meet the deficit in expenditures. But increased taxation is not the remedy. The remedy is economy. Almost every day for the last six months the press has recorded reductions in salaries effected by one corporation after another. We have yet to see evidence that similar economies have been effected in local or national government. On the contrary the tendency is to increase expenditures in a "make work" campaign to relieve unemployment.

The time has come for straight thinking and definite action in dealing with the basic causes of this depression. Wishing and hoping will not bring back prosperity.

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Family Budgets

(*Continued from page 288*)

and effective action, for a careful survey of its items helps us to determine where expenses can best be cut until the situation has been met. This seems a surer and an easier method than hit-and-miss economy, often practiced in unwise directions and with uncertain results.

Two important factors have largely dictated our general policy in budget-building the last few years: our daughter's education and our stock-market losses. Since ours is not a college town, our daughter must go away, which makes the expense of her education considerably greater than acquiring it while living at home. However, we feel that the experience of being on her own is worth the extra expense. My husband pays her board and tuition bills, but, since an allowance from early girlhood has taught her the value of money, she is entrusted with the management of all her other expenses — education for life involves more than book-learning.

The loss of our savings in the market crash was a crushing blow, but a valuable lesson. We wish now that we had invested our money in the comfortable house we rented in the suburbs when the children were small, but as THE FORUM implied, we do not own our own home. Since our nest egg is broken and we do not regard children as old age insurance, we have decided that the best provision for our future is an income insurance policy, constituting both protection and savings, so we now invest $500 annually therein. We are also saving $250 in cash each year — toward the purchase of a home! Our son will not enter college until after our daughter has finished, so we expect to be able to meet his educational expense from current income and are not saving for that purpose.

These two departments of education and savings absorb a considerable portion of our income and largely determine our expenditures in other directions.

We occupy a very pleasant, six-room apartment in the city, near an excellent high school, and, on the basis of a two-year lease, our rent, which includes garage space, is quite reasonable. We employ no regular help except a laundress, though occasionally I have a capable woman to assist with special entertaining or to help with the housecleaning. The routine work for a small family living in an apartment with every convenience is easily done, and as neither my husband nor my son have luncheon at home, there are only two daily meals to prepare. By acting as my own cook, I not only save maid's wages, and food, but also eliminate waste in the kitchen. This enables me to give the family appetizing, nourishing meals and also indulge our hospitable instincts and yet keep within a reasonable food allotment.

Personal expenses we regulate by the allowance system, the tenderest spot in man's financial anatomy! Each of us has a stated amount for clothing and spending money, so there is no dipping into the savings for father's overcoat or into the housekeeping pocketbook for mother's matinée or son's haircut. Clothing is a matter of service and good taste — we shop as wisely as possible and try to space our heaviest expenditures, so as not to put too great a load on the budget at any one time.

As for personal incidentals, our son's $120 a year covers his school lunches, spending money, small gifts, athletic tickets, and so on. As he grows older, the amount will be gradually increased and its scope widened, so that he will learn how to handle money almost without realizing it. Daughter's allowance seems large, compared to ours, but it covers all sorts of college incidentals and, of course, a full year. My husband buys his own lunches at the plant restaurant and they cost little, but — "not much left for a fellow to spend," I can hear the indignant protest. No, not much, but he has a daughter in college, owes no bills, and saves $750 yearly! My allowance permits me a little self-indulgence and keeps me happy as a self-respecting woman "with money of my own."

There! We have spent our $7500 and feel that we have gotten our money's worth!

BUDGET FOR $10,000 INCOME

Savings		
Insurance	$500	
Cash	250	
Mortgage Payment	500	$1250.00
Shelter		
Taxes	$400	
Interest on Mortgage	750	
Repairs & Improvements	150	1300.00
Food		960.00
Operating Expenses		
Gas & Electricity	$185	
Telephone Service	325	
Fire Insurance	10	
Heat	200	720.00
Furniture, Equipment		150.00
Clothing		
Father	$400	
Mother	450	
Daughter	350	
Son	175	1375.00
Personal Allowances		
Father	$400	
Mother	250	
Daughter	275	
Son	135	1060.00
Daughter's College Expenses		
Board	$400	
Tuition	400	
Books and Fees	50	
Traveling	75	925.00
Contributions		325.00
Health		175.00

Investment Literature

We present to our readers the following list of booklets issued by reputable financial houses with the belief that they may be helpful in the solution of investment problems. Copies of these booklets will be furnished free upon request.

A CHAIN OF SERVICE. A booklet describing and illustrating the history and development of the Associated Gas and Electric System. Copy upon request. Associated Gas & Electric Company, 61 Broadway, New York City.

THE LIFE INSURANCE TRUST. An outline of the program to be followed in arranging for the administration of your estate, with particular reference to insurance trusts and the benefits to be derived from such a plan. Bank of New York and Trust Company, 48 Wall Street, New York City.

PRODUCTS OF GENERAL FOODS. A description of the widespread variety of products manufactured and sold by the General Foods Corporation and the history of the various companies combined in this group. Booklet upon request. General Foods Corporation, 250 Park Ave., New York City.

THE CARE OF YOUR SECURITIES. A booklet describing the advantages and small cost of a Custody Service Account and outlining the numerous services offered security holders, such as review of investment holdings, collecting coupons, notification of maturities, etc. Guaranty Trust Company, 140 Broadway, New York City.

THE ESSENTIALS OF A SOUND INVESTMENT POLICY. This booklet presents seven cardinal principles of safe investment. Both experienced investors and beginners will find it worth reading. Halsey, Stuart & Co., 201 So. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

THE JOHN HANCOCK HOME BUDGET. A guide in home budgeting, showing the proper apportionment of income to fit average needs: the amount to be allowed for rent, clothes, insurance, and other savings. Budget sheet sent upon request by Inquiry Bureau, The John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co., 197 Clarendon Street, Boston, Mass. Please enclose 2c for postage.

SEE HOW EASY IT IS. How to act as your own insurance agent and save money by dealing directly with the company. Description of special full life policy. Folder upon request. Postal Life Insurance Co., 511 Fifth Ave., New York City.

These booklets may be obtained by addressing the firms listed or

Financial Department

FORUM MAGAZINE

441 Lexington Avenue New York

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Family Budgets

Country Club		
Dues	$55	
Incidentals	95	$150.00
Automobile		
Operating	$350	
Purchase	300	650.00
Travel and Vacation		500.00
Incidentals (Books and Magazines, Amusements, Gifts, Drugs, etc.)		260.00
Contingency Fund		200.00
Total		$10,000.00

Budget-revision upward is a pleasant task, as we learned when my husband's promotion from assistant to head of his department netted a $2500 salary increase.

We decided almost immediately to buy our castle in Spain and have a home of our own. Present real estate values enabled us to get an exceptionally good bargain at $14,500 on easy terms. Our shelter item now covers interest, taxes, general repairs, and upkeep. Operating expenses are doubled, as they now include heat, and heavier housework makes it advisable to employ a woman two days a week for laundry work and cleaning. We debated the maid question, but I won and am still holding my job. A better automobile and increased travel and vacation advantages for us all are the happy result.

Savings should naturally grow with income, and ours have expanded to include the $500 payment we now make annually on our house, bringing our ratio of savings to income up to 12½%. While this is not especially high, we feel that it is a comfortably safe margin. Furthermore, the period of grace between daughter's finishing college and son's entering will mean greatly decreased educational expenditure, which we will credit to our savings-account — if we don't squander it on a trip abroad!

Thus the three departments of shelter, operating expenses, and savings have received almost one-half of the $2500 increase, and as you already know how and why we have been spending our $7500 income, you can readily grasp our reasons for the fairly uniform distribution of the balance. My husband's new position entails not only increased business responsibilities, but also greater social and civic obligations, which of course played their part in our financial readjustment.

While our good fortune has not greatly altered our mode of living, it has eased the tension all along the line and will, we hope, permit us not only to get more joy out of life, but to put some of it back.

BUDGET FOR $4000 INCOME

Savings		
Insurance		$500.00
Shelter ($395 of $1080 rental is earned by renting garage and having boarder)		685.00
Food		750.00
Operating Expenses		
Gas and Electricity	$140	
Telephone Service	150	
Fire Insurance	10	$300.00
Furniture Equipment		25.00
Clothing		
Father	$200	
Mother	225	
Daughter	...	
Son	100	525.00
Personal Allowances		
Father	$175	
Mother	85	
Daughter	...	
Son	25	285.00
Daughter's College Expenses		
Board	$400	
Tuition	400	of this $800, $300 is from sale of car — 500.00
Books and Fees	...	
Traveling	...	
Contributions		125.00
Health		150.00
Country Club Dues		55.00
Automobile		.....
Travel and Vacation		.....
Incidentals (Books and Magazines, Amusements, Gifts, Drugs, *etc.*)		100.00
Contingency Fund		.....
Total		$4000.00

Action is the best antidote for distaste, so, upon the news of my husband's salary reduction from $7500 to $4000, we immediately set about the performance of a major operation on our budget, as the first step in our adjustment to a greatly altered scale of living.

Three obligations stood out boldly and challenged us at once: our insurance premium, a fixed and unalterable charge; our apartment, from which the landlord refused to release us and which we have been unable to sublet; and our daughter's education, which must not be sacrificed. Despite the elimination of some items and the drastic reduction of others, our $4000 salary was simply incapable of carrying the load, so, since we have no independent means, only one solution remained — to supplement our regular income.

Our first overt act was the sale of our car — this released our garage space, which we have rented for $6 monthly. We next acquired a boarder, who pays $6.50 weekly for room, breakfast, and light laundry-work. These two sources of revenue reduce the shelter expense borne by salary from $1080 to $685.

Our daughter, like ourselves, is practicing strict personal economy, has gotten tutoring and other work to do at college and a position as councilor at a girls' camp for the summer. By these means she is bridging the gap between her necessary expenses and her allowance of $800 ($500 from income and $300 from the sale of the automobile). Next year we shall have no car to sell, but she hopes to secure a scholarship, or, if absolutely necessary, my husband *can* borrow against his paid-up insurance policy or we *might* manage another paying-guest.

Our boy has accepted the change in the family fortunes as gallantly as his sister. He is earning pin-money by washing cars in the neighborhood, a dollar per car. And he has landed a summer job as "handy boy" at a lodge in the mountains, a place where we have occasionally vacationed with the children and know he will be safe and happy. He will earn a small wage, as well as his board, the latter quite an item in the case of a growing boy. In recognition of his fine spirit, we have allotted him a bonus of $25, a most meager expression of our feelings.

With both children away for the summer and by careful planning, the food allowance has shrunk by $150, with no sacrifice of health and with a breakfast boarder. We have always watched operating expenses carefully, so very little saving could be effected there, especially as my husband insists upon my keeping the laundress.

The items of automobile, travel and vacation, and contingency we simply eliminated — we cannot afford a car, our vacation will be spent at home while our boarder is away on hers, and we are taking a sporting chance on contingencies. We finally decided to keep our country club membership, an earnest of our faith in better times ahead.

However, it is far easier to work out in theory a problem involving the human equation than it is to put the solution into actual practice. The former requires only intelligence and a working knowledge of conditions, while the latter demands, in addition to these qualities, self-denial, courage, and optimism. Nevertheless, with nothing vital to our "security, happiness, and ultimate good" sacrificed, and with a firm foundation of family understanding and coöperation on which to build our new program, we feel reasonably confident of success.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: — *Next month we will publish the prize-winning essay in the "Seven Blunders of the World" contest.*]

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